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THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSES
DEMONSTRATED.
IN NINE BOOKS.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

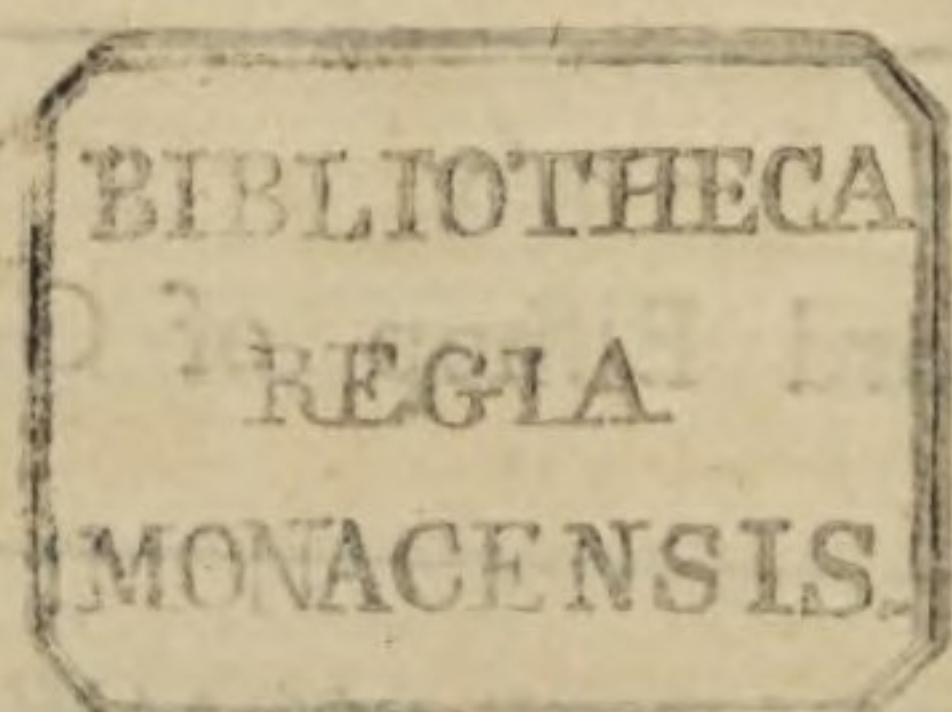
B^y
WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.
PSAL.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N,
Printed for A. MILLAR, and J. and R. TONSON,
in the Strand, MDCCLXV.

DIVINE LEGATION
OF
M O S E S
DEMOSTRATED
IN NINE BOOKS
The Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged



Vol. I.
L O N D O N
Printed for A. Miller, and J. and R. Tonson
in the Strand, MDCCCLXX.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
P H I L I P,
EARL of HARDWICKE,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

MY LORD,
YOUR Lordship having so far ap-
proved of the good intentions of
my endeavours for above twenty years
A 2 past,

past, in the cause of RELIGION, as to confer upon me a distinguishing mark of your favour, I am proud to lay hold of the first public opportunity which I have had, of desiring leave to make my most grateful acknowledgments.

I take the liberty to inscribe to your Lordship a new Edition of a Work tending to shew and illustrate, by a new Argument, the *Divine Legation of Moses*; which in our own, as well as former times, the most celebrated Champions of Infidelity have cunningly, for their own purposes, laboured with all their might, to overthrow.

If I have succeeded, or as far as I have succeeded, or may hereafter succeed, in the further prosecution of this attempt, I shall strengthen one foundation of Christianity.

As an Author, I am not solicitous for the reputation of any literary performance.

DEDICATION. v

formance. A work given to the World, every reader has a right to censure. If it has merit, it will go down to posterity : If it has none, the sooner it dies and is forgot the better.

But I am extremely anxious that no good man should mistake the view with which I write ; and therefore cannot help feeling, perhaps too sensibly, when it is misrepresented.

So far as any censure can shew that my poor labours are not calculated to promote *Letters* or *Learning*, to advance *Truth*, or, above all, to serve the Cause of *Religion*, which I profess as a Christian and a Member of the Church of *England*, I own, I have missed my end ; and will be the first to join with the censure which condemns them.

In the mean time, the first Book of this Work, such as it is, is here humbly commended to your Lordship's protection.

tection. For to whom does it so properly belong to patronize an Argument shewing the UTILITY of Religion to Society, as to that great Magistrate, Legislator, and Statesman, who is best able to recommend and apply the Subject, by his being convinced of the TRUTH of Religion; and by his giving the most exemplary proof of his belief, in a steady regard to it's dictates in his life and actions.

It is this which makes me presume on your Lordship's protection, not any thing extraordinary in the Work itself. It is enough for your Lordship to find in those you favour a real zeal for the interests of Virtue and Religion. The effectual service of those interests depends on so many accidents, respecting both the ability of the Writer and the disposition of the Reader, that your Lordship's humanity and candour, enlarged, and not (as it often happens) dimi-

DEDICATION. vii

diminished, by your great knowledge of Mankind, will always dispose You to estimate merit by a better rule than the Success.

I am,

MY LORD,

With the utmost Gratitude,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

and devoted Servant,

London, Nov. 5,
1754.

W. WARBURTON.

dedicated, by your great knowledge
of mankind, will, always dispose you
to estimate merit by a better rule than
the success.

My Lord,

With the utmost Gratitude

Your Lordship's most obliged

and devoted Servant

W. WARBURTON

T O T H E
F R E E - T H I N K E R S.

G E N T L E M E N,

AS the following discourse was written for your use, you have the best right to this address. I could never approve the custom of dedicating books to men, whose professions made them strangers to the subject. A discourse on the Ten Predicaments, to a leader of armies, or a system of casuistry to a minister of state, always appeared to me a high absurdity.

Another advantage I have in this address, is that I shall not lie under any temptations of flattery ; which, at this time of day, when every topic of adulation has been exhausted, will be of equal ease and advantage to us both.

Not but I must own you have been managed, even by some of our Order, with very singular complaisance. Whether it was that they affected the fame of moderation, or had a higher ambition for the honour of your good word, I know not ; but I, who neither love your cause, nor fear the abilities that support

it, while I preserve for your persons that justice and charity which my profession teaches to be due to all, can never be brought to think otherwise of your character, than as the despisers of the Master whom I serve, and as the implacable enemies of that Order, to which I have the honour to belong. And as such, I should be tempted to glory in your censures; but would certainly refuse your commendations.

Indeed, were it my design, in the manner of modern dedicators, to look out for powerful protectors, I do not know where I could sooner find them, than amongst the gentlemen of your denomination: for nothing, I believe, strikes the serious observer with more surprize, in this age of novelties, than that strange propensity to infidelity, so visible in men of almost every condition; amongst whom the advocates of Deism are received with all the applauses due to the inventors of the arts of life, or the deliverers of oppressed and injured nations. The *glorious liberty of the Gospel* is forgotten amidst our clamours against church-tyranny; and we slight the fruits of the restored *Tree of Knowledge*, for the sake of gathering a few barren leaves of Free-thinking, misgrafted on the old prolific stock of Deism.

But

But let me not be misunderstood ; here are no insinuations intended against Liberty : for, surely, whatever be the cause of this epidemic folly, it would be unjust to ascribe it to the freedom of the Press, which wise men have ever held one of the most precious branches of national Liberty. What, though it midwifes, as it were, these brain-sick births ; yet, at the same time that it facilitates the delivery, it lends a forming hand to the mishapen issue : for, as in natural bodies, become distorted by suffering in the conception, or by too strait imprisonment in the womb, a free unrestrained exposition of the parts may, in time, reduce them nearer to their natural rectitude ; so crude and rickety notions, enfeebled by restraint, when permitted to be drawn out and examined, may, by the reform of their obliquities, and the correction of their virulency, at length acquire health and proportion.

Nor less friendly is this liberty to the generous advocate of religion : for how could such a one, when in earnest convinced by the evidence of his cause, desire an adversary whom the laws had before disarmed ; or value a victory, where the Magistrate must triumph with him ? Even I, the meanest in this controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great jewish Lawgiver,

A 2 did

did not I know that the same liberty of thinking was impartially indulged to all. And if my dissenting in the course of this defence, from some received opinions need an apology, I desire it may be thought, that I ventured into this tract the less unwillingly, to shew, by my not intrenching in authorized speculations, that I put myself upon the same footing with you, and would claim no privilege that was not in common.

This liberty then may you long possess; may you know how to use; may you gratefully acknowledge! I say this, because one cannot, without indignation, observe, that amidst the full possession of it, you still continue, with the meanest affectation, to fill your prefaces with repeated clamours against the difficulties and discouragements attending the exercise of Free-thinking: and, in a peculiar strain of modesty and reasoning, employ this very liberty to persuade the world you still want it. In extolling liberty, we can join with you; in the vanity of pretending to have contributed most to its establishment, we can bear with you; but in the low cunning of pretending still to groan under the want of it, we can neither join nor bear with you. There was indeed a time, and that within our own memories, when such complaints were
seasonable

D E D I C A T I O N.

v

seasonable and even useful; but, happy for you, Gentlemen, you have out-lived it: all the rest is merely sir Martin^a; it is continuing to fumble on the lute, though the music has been long over. For it is not a thing to be disguised, that what we hear from you, on this head, is but an awkward, though envenomed imitation of an original work of one, whoever he was, who appears to have been amongst the greatest, and most successful of your adversaries. It was published at an important juncture, under the title of *The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the Scripture*. But with all the merit of this beautiful satire, it has been its fortune not only to be abused by your bad imitations, but to be censured by those in whose cause it was composed; I mean the friends of religion and liberty. An author of note thus expresses himself: ^b “ Nor was this the worst: “ men were not only discouraged from study- “ ing and revering the Scriptures by—but also “ by being told that this study was difficult, “ fruitless, and dangerous; and a public, an “ elaborate, an earnest dissuasive from this “ study, for the very reasons now mentioned, “ enforced by two well known examples,

^a In a comedy of *Dryden's*.

^b *Revelation examined with candour*, in the preface.

“ and believed from a person of great emin-
 “ ence in the church, hath already passed
 “ often enough through the press, to reach
 “ the hands of all the clergymen in Great-
 “ Britain and Ireland : God in his great mer-
 “ cy forgive the author^c.” Seriously it is a
 sad case ! that one well-meaning man should
 so widely mistake the end and design of an-
 other, as not to see by the turn and cast of the
Difficulties and discouragements, that it is a
 thorough irony, addressed to some hot bigots
 then in power, to shew them what dismal ef-
 fects that inquisitional spirit, with which they
 were possessed, would have on literature in
 general, at a time when public liberty looked
 with a very sickly face ! Not, I say, to see
 this, but to believe, on the contrary, that it
 was really intended as *a public, an elaborate,
 an earnest dissuasive from the study of the Scrip-
 tures !* But I have so charitable an opinion
 of the great author, for a great author with-
 out doubt he was, as to believe that had he
 foreseen that the liberty, which animates this
 fine turned piece of raillery, would have given
 scandal to any good man, he would, for the
 consolation of such have made any reason-
 able abatement in the vigour of his wit and
 argument.

^c The author was the excellent Dr. *Hare*, late Bishop
 of *Chichester*.

But you, Gentlemen, have a different quarrel with him: you pretend he hath since written on the other side the question. Now though the word of his accusers is not apt to go very far with me, yet, I must own, I could be easily enough brought to believe, that an author of such talents of literature, love of truth, and of his country, as this appears to have been, would as freely expose the extreme of folly at one end, as at the other; without regarding what party he opposed or favoured by it. And it is well known, that, at the time this is pretended to have been done, another interest being become uppermost, strange principles of licence, which tended to subvert all order, and destroy the very essence of a Church, ran now in the popular stream. What then should hinder a writer, who was of no party but that of truth, to oppose this extravagance, as he had done its opposite? And if he pleased neither bigot nor libertine by his uniformity of conduct, it was for his honour.

How public a blessing is such a virtue! which, unawed by that *fatal enemy of sense*, as the poet calls it, the *danger of offending*, dares equally oppose itself to the different follies of Party in extremes.

But to return to our subject: The poor thread-bare cant of *want of liberty*, I should

hope then you would be, at length, persuaded to lay aside ; but that I know such cant is amongst your arts of controversy ; and that something is to be allowed to a weak cause, and to a reputation that requires managing. We know what to understand by it, when after a successful insult on religion, the reader is intreated to believe that you have a strong reserve ; but till the door of liberty be set a little wider, you have not room to display it.

Thus, at the very entrance of your works you teach us what we are to expect. But I must beg your patience, now I am got thus far, to lay before you your principal abuses of that liberty indulged to you for better purposes ; or, to give them the softest name I can, in an address of this nature, your ARTS OF CONTROVERSY.

By this I shall at once practise the charity I profess, and justify the opinion I have passed upon you.

Your writers, I speak it, Gentlemen, to your honour, offer your considerations to the world, either under the character of petitioners for oppressed and injured truth ; or of teachers to ignorant and erring men. These sure are characters that, if any, require seriousness and gravity to support them. But so great strangers are we to decorum, on our entry on the stage of life,

life, that, for the most part, like Bays's actor in the Rehearsal, who was at a loss to know whether he was to be serious or merry, melancholy or in love, we run giddily on, in a mixt and jumbled character ; but have most an end, a strong inclination to make a farce of it, and mingle buffoonry with the most serious scenes. Hence, even in religious controversy, while the great cause of eternal happiness is trying ; and men and angels, as it were, attending the issue of the conflict, we can find room for a merry story ; and receive the advocate of infidelity with much welcome^d, if he comes with but a disposition to make us laugh : though he brings the tidings of *death*, and scatters round him the poison of our *hopes*, yet, like the dying assassin^e, we can laugh along with the mob, though our own despair and agonies conclude the entertainment.

This quality making a writer so well received, yours have been tempted to dispense with the solemnity of their character ; as

^d Hence Anthony Urceus, surnamed Codrus, as vain and impious as any Free-thinker alive, being asked the reason (as we are told by Blanchini, the writer of his life) why he mixed so much buffoonry in his works, replied, " That nature had formed mankind in such a manner, as to be most taken with buffoons and story-tellers."

^e Balthazar Gerard, who murdered the Prince of Orange. See his story.

thinking it of much importance to get the laugh on their side. Hence RIDICULE is become their favourite figure of speech; and they have composed sad treatises to justify its use, and very merry ones to evince its utility. But to be fair with you, it must be owned, that this strange disposition towards unseasonable mirth, drives all parties upon being witty where they can, as being conscious of its powerful operation in controversy: RIDICULE having, from the hands of a skilful disputant, the same effect in barbarous minds, with the new invented darts of Marius^e, which, though so weak as to break in the throw, and pierce no farther than the surface, yet sticking there, they more intangle and incommode the combatant, than those arms, which fly stronger, and strike deeper. However, an abuse it is, and one of the most pernicious too, of the liberty of the Press. For what greater affront to the severity of reason, the sublimity of truth, and the sanctity of religion, than to subject them to the impure touch of every empty scurrilous Buffoon? the politeness of Athens, which you pretend so much to admire, should be here a lesson to you; which committed all questions of this nature, when they were to be examined, to their gravest and severest

^e See Plut. *Vit. Mar.*

court, the Areopagus : whose judges would not suffer the advocates for either party to apply to the passions, so much as by the common rules of the chastest rhetoric^f. But a preposterous love of mirth hath turned you all into Wits, quite down from the sanguine writer of *The independent whig*, to the atrabilaire blasphemer of the miracles^g. Though it would be but charity to tell you a plain truth, which Cicero told your *illustrious predecessors* long ago, when infected with the same distemper: “Ita
 “salem istum, quo caret VESTRA NATIO in
 “irridendis nobis, nolitote consumere. Et
 “mehercule, si me audiatis, ne experiamini
 “quidem : non decet ; NON DATUM EST ;
 “non potestis.” However, if you will needs be witty, take once more your example from the fine author of *The Difficulties and discouragements*, and learn from him the difference between Attic irony and elegance of wit, and your intemperate scurrility and illiberal banter.

What a noise, you will say, for a little harmless mirth. Ah, Gentlemen ! if that were all, you had my leave to laugh on : I would say with the old comic,

Utinam male qui mihi volunt, sic rideant.

^f Exemplo legis Atticæ, Martique judicii causæ Patronis denuntiat Præco neque principia dicere, neque miserationem commovere. *Apul.*

^g Woolston.

But low and mean as your buffoonry is, it is yet to the level of the people; who are as little solicitous, as capable, of the point of argument, so they can but catch the point of wit. Amongst such, and to such, you write; and it is inconceivable what havoc false wit makes in a foolish head: “The rabble of mankind (as
 “an excellent writer well observes) being very
 “apt to think, that every thing which is
 “laughed at, with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself^b.” Few reflect on what a great witⁱ has so ingenuously owned, *That wit is generally false reasoning.*

But one, in whom your party most glories, hath written in defence of this abusive way of *wit and raillery*, on serious subjects. Let us hear him thenⁱ: “Nothing is ridiculous,
 “except what is deformed; nor is any thing
 “proof against raillery, except what is handsome and just: and therefore it is the
 “hardest thing in the world to deny fairly honest the use of this weapon; which can
 “never bear an edge against herself. One
 “may defy the world to turn bravery or
 “generosity into ridicule: a man must be

^b Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 293. Quarto.

ⁱ Mr. Wycherley to Mr. Pope, Letter xvi.

^{*} *Characteristics*, vol. i. *Essay on the freedom of wit and humour.*

“ soundly ridiculous, who, with all the wit
 “ imaginable, would go about to ridicule
 “ wisdom, or laugh at honesty or good man-
 “ ners.” Yes, ridiculous, indeed, to laugh
 at bravery, generosity, wisdom, honesty, or
 good manners, as such: and I hardly think,
 gentlemen, as licentious as some of you are,
 you will be ever brought to accept of his de-
 fiance. And why need you, when it is but
 shewing them, with overcharged and distorted
 features, to laugh at your ease. Call them but
 temerity, prodigality, gravity, simplicity, fop-
 pery, and as you have often experienced, the
 business is done, and the ridicule is compleat.
 And what security will the noble writer give
 us, that they shall not be so called? I am per-
 suaded, if you are never to be thought *ridicu-
 lous* till you become so, in the way this gentle-
 man marks out, you may go safely on in the
 FREEDOM OF WIT AND HUMOUR, till there be
 never a Virtue left, to laugh out of countenance.

But he will say, he means such clear virtue
 as hath no equivocal mark about her, which a
 prevaricator can lay hold on. Admit this: the
 man of wit will then try to make her ridiculous
 in her equipage, if he cannot make her so in
 her person.

However, will he say, it shews at least, that
 nothing can be done against her, till she be

disguised. A mighty consolation this to expiring Virtue, that she cannot be destroyed till you have put her on a fool's coat. As if it were as hard to get that *on*, as Hercules's *off*! The comparison holds better in the converse, that when once *on*, it sticks as close as the envenomed one of old, and often lasts her to her funeral.

But if this noble writer means that truth cannot be obscured, however disguised; nor consequently, be made ridiculous, however represented; the two celebrated examples, which follow, seem to shew he was mistaken. Where, in the first, it is seen, that nothing was stronger than the ridicule, nor, at the same time more open and transparent than the disguise; in the latter, nothing more clouded and obscured than the beauty of the truth ridiculed, nor more out of sight than the fallacy in the representation. Which together, may teach us, that any kind of disguise will serve the turn; and, that witty men will never be at a loss for one.

Of all the virtues that were so much in this noble writer's heart, and in his writings, there was not one he more revered than *love of public liberty*; or which he would less suspect should become liable to the impressions of buffoonry. Methinks I hear him say,
 “ One

“ One may defy the world to turn the love
 “ of public liberty into ridicule: a man must
 “ be soundly ridiculous, who, with all the wit
 “ imaginable, would go about it.”

However, once on a time, a great Wit set upon this task; he undertook to laugh at this very virtue; and that too, so successfully, that he set the whole nation a laughing with him: What mighty engine, you will ask, was employed, to put in motion so large a body, and for so extraordinary a cause? In truth, a very simple one: a *discourse*, of which all the wit consists in the title; and that too sculking, as you will see, under one unlucky word. *Mrs. Bull's vindication of the indispensable duty of CUCKOLDOM, incumbent upon wives, in case of the tyranny, infidelity, or insufficiency of husbands*¹. Now had the merry reader been but wise enough to reflect, that reason was the test of ridicule, and not *ridicule the test of truth*, he would have seen to rectify the proposition, and to state it fairly thus: *The indispensable duty of DIVORCE, etc.* And then the joke had been over, before the laugh could have begun.

And now let this noble writer tell us, as he does, that *fair honesty can never bear an edge against herself, for that nothing is ridiculous but what is deformed*; and a great deal to

¹ *History of John Bull*, first part, chap. xiii.

the same purpose, which his Platonic manners supplied.

But very often the change put upon us is not so easily discernible. Sulpicius tells Cicero, that returning by sea from Asia, and seeing in his course Ægina, Megara, the Piræus, and Corinth in ruins, he fell into this very natural, and humane reflexion: “ And
 “ shall we, short-lived creatures as we are,
 “ bear with impatience the death of our fel-
 “ lows, when, in one single view we behold
 “ the carcases of so many lately flourishing
 “ cities? ^m” What could be juster or wiser than the piety of this reflexion? And yet it could not escape the ridicule of a celebrated french buffoon. “ If neither (says he ⁿ) the

^m Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræus; sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata, & diruta ante oculos jacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot 'oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant? *Sulpicius M. T. Ciceroni, lib. iv. ep. 5.*

ⁿ *Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,
 Pyramides, Tombeaux, dont la vaine structure
 A temoigné que l'art, par l'adresse des mains
 Et l'assidu travail, peut vaincre la nature!
 Vieux palais ruinez, chef d'œuvres des Romains,*

“ Pyramids of Egypt, nor the Colosseum at
 “ Rome could withstand the injury of time ;
 “ why should I think much that my black
 “ waistcoat is out at elbows ?” Here, indeed,
 the first thing to be observed is the superior re-
 sistance of truth.

The buffoon, before he could throw an air
 of ridicule on this admirable sentiment, was
 forced to change the image ; and in the place
 of *Ægina*, *Megara*, etc. to substitute the *Py-*
ramids and *Colosseum*, monuments of human
 pride, and folly ; which, on that account, rea-
 dily submitted to the rude touch of buffoonery :
 while those free cities, the noblest effort of
 human wisdom, the nurseries of arts and com-
 merce, could not easily be set in a ridiculous
 or an idle light.

But then, how few of his readers were able
 to detect the change put upon them, when it is
 very probable the author himself did not see it ?

Et les derniers efforts de leur architecture,
 Collisée, où souvent *ces peuples inhumains*
De s'entr'assassiner se donnoient tablature,
 Par l'injure des ans vous estes abolis,
 Ou du moins la plus part vous estes demolis :
 Il n'est point de ciment que le temps ne dissoude,
 Si vos marbres si durs ont sentis son pouvoir,
 Dois-je trouver mauvais, qu'un meschant pourpoint
 noir,

Qui m'a duré deux ans, soit percé par le coude ?

Scarron.

who, perplexed at the obstinate resistance of *truth*, in the various arrangement of his ideas turned the edge of his raillery, before he was aware, against this phantasm, and was the first that fell into his own deceit.

Hence may be seen what the noble writer seems to have spoken at random, at least, not at all to the purpose of the question he was upon, that such indeed is the inflexible nature of truth, that all the wit in the world can never render it ridiculous, till it be so distorted as to look like error, or so disguised as to appear like folly. A circumstance which, though it greatly recommends the *majesty of virtue*, yet, as it cannot secure it from insult, doth not at all shew the *innocence of ridicule*; which was the point he had to prove.

But to see what little good is to be expected in this way of *wit and humour*, one may go further; and observe, that even the ridicule of *false* virtue, which surely deserves no quarter, hath been sometimes attended with very mischievous effects. The Spaniards have lamented, and I believe truly, that Cervantes's just and inimitable ridicule of *knight-errantry* rooted up, with that folly, a great deal of their *real honour*. And it was apparent, that Butler's fine satire on *fanaticism* contributed not a little, during the licentious times of Charles II. to bring *sober piety* into disrepute. The reason is
I
evident :

evident : there are many lines of resemblance between Truth and its Counterfeits : and it is the province of *wit* only to find out the *likenesses* in things ; and not the talent of the *common admirers of it* to discover the *differences*.

But you will say, perhaps, Let Truth, when thus attacked, defend itself with the same arms : for why, as your master asks, should *fair honesty be denied the use of this weapon* ? Be it so : come on then, and let us impartially attend the issue. We have, upon record, the most illustrious example of this contention that ever was. The dispute I mean, was between Socrates and Aristophanes. Here *truth* had all the advantage of place, of weapons, and of judges : Socrates employed his whole life in the cause of virtue : Aristophanes, only a few comic scenes against it. But, heavens ! against what virtue ! against the purest and brightest portion of it that ever enlightened the *gentile* world. The wit of the comic writer is well known : that of the philosopher was in a supreme degree, just, delicate, and forceable ; and so habitual, that it procured him the title of the *Attic buffoon*. The *place* was the politest state in the politest time, Athens in its glory ; and the *judges* the grave senators of Areopagus. For all this, the comic poet triumphed : and with the coarsest kind of buffoonry, little fitted, one would think, to take so polite a people, had

the art to tarnish all this virtue; and, what was more, to make the owner resemble his direct opposite, that character he was most unlike, that character he most hated, that very character he had employed all his wit to detect, lay open, and confound; in one word, the SOPHIST. The consequences are well known.

Thus will *raillery*, in defence of vice and error, be still an overmatch for that employed on the side of truth and virtue. Because *fair honesty* uses, though a sharp, yet an untainted weapon; while knavery strikes with one empoisoned, though much duller. The honest man employs his wit as correctly as his logic; whereas the very definition of a knave's raillery is a sophism.

But, indeed, when a licentious buffoonry is once appealed to, and encouraged; its effects have no dependance on the fit choice of its object. All characters fall alike before it. In the dissolute times of Charles II, this *weapon*, with the same ease, and indeed in the same hands, completed the ruin of the best, and, of the very worst Minister of that age. The historians tell us, that Chancellor Hyde was brought into his master's contempt, by this court-argument. They mimicked his walk and gesture, with a fire-shovel and bellows, for the mace and purse. The same ingenious
stroke

stroke of humour was repeated on Secretary Bennet, and, by the happy addition of his black patch, with just the same success. Thus, it being the representation, and not the object represented, which strikes the fancy, Vice and Virtue must fall indifferently before it^o.

^o The author of a late book called *Elements of Criticism*, speaking of men's various opinions concerning the *use of ridicule*, proceeds against what is here said, in the following manner—"This dispute has produced a celebrated question, *Whether Ridicule be, or be not, a test of Truth?* Which (says he) stated in ACCURATE TERMS, is, *Whether the SENSE of Ridicule be the proper test for distinguishing ridiculous objects from those that are not so?* To answer this question with PRECISION, I must premise that Ridicule is not a subject of reasoning but of SENSE or TASTE." Vol. ii. p. 55. The Critic having thus changed the question, which he calls *stating it in accurate terms*; and obscured the answer, which he calls, *giving it with precision*, he concludes, that *Ridicule is not only the best, but the only, test of Truth.*

But what is all this to the purpose? Is the Dealer in Ridicule now debarred the liberty of doing what he has so often done, putting his object in a false light; and, by that means, making Truth appear like Error? As he is not, I inferred, against Lord Shaftesbury, *That Ridicule is not a test of Truth.* How does our Critic address himself to prove the contrary? Not by shewing, that *ridicule* is such a test: but that *the TASTE of ridicule is the test of what is ridiculous.* Who doubts that? It is the very thing complained of. For when our *taste* for ridicule gives us a sensible pleasure in a ridiculous representation of any object, we do not stay to examine whether that representation be a true one, but conclude it to be so, from the pleasure it affords us.

I hope then, Gentlemen, you will in time be brought to own, that this method is the

His second change of the question is a new substitution, viz. *Whether Ridicule be a talent to be used or employed at all?* Of which he supposes me to hold the negative. What else is the meaning of these words? "To CONDEMN A TALENT FOR RIDICULE, because it may be converted to wrong purposes, is not a little ridiculous. Could one forbear to *smile* if A TALENT FOR REASONING WAS CONDEMNED, because it also may be perverted?" p. 57. He has no reason to *smile* sure, at his own misrepresentation. I never *condemned a talent for ridicule* because it may be abused; nor for any other reason. Though others, perhaps, may be disposed to *smile* at his absurd inference, that we may as well *condemn a talent for reasoning*. As if *reason* and *ridicule* were of equal importance for the conduct of human life.

He may then perhaps ask, "If I do not *condemn* the *use* of Ridicule, on what employment I would put it, when I have excluded it from being *a test of truth*?" Let him not be uneasy about that. There is no danger that the *talent for ridicule* should lie idle, for want of proper business. When *reason*, the only *test of truth* I know of, has performed its office, and unmasked *hypocrisy and formal error*, then *ridicule*, I think, may be fairly called in, to quicken the operation. Thus, when Dr. S. Clarke had, by superior reasoning, exposed the wretched sophistry which Mr. Collins had employed to prove the Soul to be only a quality of Body; Dr. Arbuthnot, who very rarely misemployed his inimitable *talent for ridicule*, followed the blow, and gave that foolish and impious opinion up to the contempt and laughter it deserved, in a chapter of the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*. But to set Ridicule on work before, would be as unfair, indeed as scandalous, as to bestow the language due to convicted Vice, on a character but barely suspected.

most

most unfair in itself, and most pernicious in its consequences: that its natural effect is to mislead the judgment, and to make the heart dissolute.

It is a small matter, that the State requires of you, sobriety, decency, and good manners, to qualify you for the noble employment of thinking freely, and at your ease. We have been told this, you will say, before: But, when it came to be explained; By, *sober writing* was meant, writing in the *language of the Magistrate*. It may be so; but then, remember, it was not till you yourselves had led the way to the abuse of words; and had called calumny, plain dealing; and a scurril licence, urbanity. Happy for you, that you are in times when liberty is so well understood. Had you lived in the boasted days of classic freedom, he amongst you who had escaped best, had been branded with a character, the ancient Sages esteemed most infamous of all, AN ENEMY TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY. A very candid and respectable author speaking of the ancient *restraints* on free-thinking, says, “These were the maxims, “these the principles, which the light of nature “suggested, which reason dictated^p.” Nor has this fine writer any cause to be ashamed of his acknowledgment; nor his adversaries any

^p Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 52, & seq.

pretence that he must needs esteem it the measure for the present times. For, as a great Ancient well observes, “It is one thing to speak of truth, and another to hear truth speak of herself⁹.” It was CHRISTIAN TRUTH and CHARITY, the truth and charity you so much insult, which only could take off those restraints; and require no more of you than to be *as FREE, but not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*^r.

I have now done with your buffoonry; which, like chewed bullets, is against the law of arms; and come next to your scurrilities, those stink-pots of your offensive war.

As the CLERGY of the established church have been more *particularly* watchful in what is yet the common cause of all, the interests of *Christianity*, and most successful in repelling the insults of its enemies, they have fallen under the heaviest load of your calumny and slander. With unparalleled licence, you have gone on, representing them as debauched, avaricious, proud, vindictive, ambitious, deceitful, irreligious, and incorrigible. “An order of men profligate and abandoned to wickedness, inconsistent with the good of

⁹ Ἄλλως τις περὶ ἀληθείας λέγει, ἢ ἀλήθεια ἑαυτὴν ἐξημνησεί.

^r 1 Pet. ii. 16.

society, irreconcilable enemies to reason, and conspirators against the liberty and property of mankind^s.”

To fill up your common place of slander, the most inconsistent qualities have been raked together to deform them: qualities that could never stand together but in idea; I mean, in the misshapen ideas of a Free-thinker.

The Order is now represented as most contemptible for their politics; ever in the wrong, and under a fatality of continued blunders, attending them as a curse: But anon, we are told of their deep-laid schemes of a separate interest, so wisely conducted, as to elude the policy of Courts, and baffle all the wisdom of Legislatures.

Now they are a set of superstitious bigots, and fiery zealots, prompt to sacrifice the rights of humanity to the interests of Mother-Church: but now again, they are *Tartufes without religion; Atheists and Apostates without faith or law.*

This moment, so united in one common confederacy, as to make their own Church-policy the cause of God: But, the next, so divided, that every man's hand is against his brother, *tearing and worrying one another*, to the

^s *Rights of the Christian Church, and Christianity as old as the Creation, passim.*

great scandal of the charitable author of the *Discourse of Free-thinking*.

But it is to be hoped, as the evidence is so ill laid together, the accusation may be groundless.

But why do I talk of the Clergy, when there is not one, however otherwise esteemed by, or related to you, that can escape your slander, if he happen to discover the least inclination for that cause, against which you are so virulently bent? Mr. *Locke*, the honour of this age, and the instructor of the future, shews us, in the treatment he received from his FRIEND and from his PUPIL, what a believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their resentment, that he had shewn *the reasonableness of Christianity*; and had placed all his hopes of happiness in *another life*.

The intimacy between him and Mr. *Collins* is well known. Mr. *Collins* seemed to idolize Mr. *Locke* while living; and Mr. *Locke* was confident Mr. *Collins* would preserve his memory when dead^t. But he chanced to be mistaken: For no sooner was he gone, than Mr. *Collins* publickly^u insults a notion of his

^t “ I know you loved me living, and will preserve my memory now I am dead,” says he in his letter to be delivered to Mr. *Collins* at his death.

^u *Answer to Dr. Clarke's third Defence of his Letter to Mr. Dodwell*, at the end.

honoured friend, concerning the *possibility of conceiving how matter might first be made and begin to be*: And goes affectedly out of the way to shew his good will to his memory.

The noble author of *the Characteristics* had received * part of his education from that great philosopher: And it must be owned, that this Lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country. In his writings he hath shewn how largely he had imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy the gracious manner of *Plato*. How far Mr. *Locke* contributed to the cultivating these qualities, I will not enquire: But that inveterate rancour which he indulged against *Christianity*, it is certain, he had not from his master. It was Mr. *Locke's* love of it that seems principally to have exposed him to his pupil's bitterest insults. One of the most precious remains of the piety of that excellent man, are his last words to Mr. *Collins*:
 “ May you live long and happy, &c. all the
 “ use to be made of it is, *that this world is a*
 “ *scene of vanity, that soon passes away, and af-*
 “ *fords no solid satisfaction*, but the consciouf-
 “ nefs of well doing, and the HOPES OF AN-

* See *Bibl. Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 343.

“ OTHER LIFE. This is what I can say by
 “ experience, and what you will find when
 “ you come to make up your account^y.” One
 would think, that if ever the parting breath
 of pious men, or the last precepts of dying
 philosophers, could claim reverence of their
 survivors, this noble monument of friend-
 ship, and religion, had been secure from out-
 rage. Yet hear, in how unworthy, how cruel
 a manner, his noble disciple apostrophizes him
 on this occasion: “ *Philosopher!* let me hear
 “ concerning life, what the right notion is,
 “ and what I am to stand to upon occasion;
 “ that I may not, when life seems retiring, or
 “ *has run itself out to the very dregs*^z, cry VA-
 “ NITY! condemn the WORLD, and at the
 “ same time complain that LIFE IS SHORT
 “ AND PASSING. For why so *short* indeed,
 “ if not found *sweet*? Why do I complain
 “ both ways? Is *vanity*, mere vanity, a hap-
 “ piness; or can misery *pass away* too soon^a? ”
 Here the polite author had the noble pleasure
 of ridiculing the *philosopher* and the *Psalmist*^b
 together. But I will leave the strange reflex-

^y Amongst his Letters published by Desmaizeaux.

^z Mr. Locke was then in his 73^d year.

^a *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 302. 3^d ed.

^b *Man is like to vanity: His days are as a shadow that passeth away.* PSAL. cxliv. 4.

ions, that naturally arise from hence, to the reader ; who, I am sure, will be before-hand with me in judging, that Mr. *Locke* had reason to condemn a world that cast him upon such a friend and pupil^c.

^c The noble writer did not disdain to take up with those vulgar calumnies which Mr. *Locke* had again and again confuted. “ Some even (says he, *Charact.* vol. i. p. 80. 3^d ed.) of our most admired modern philosophers had fairly told us, that virtue and vice had, after all, no other law or measure than mere fashion and vogue.” The case was this : When Mr. *Locke* reasoned against *innate ideas*, he brought it as one argument against them, that virtue and vice, in many places, were not regulated by the nature of things, which they must have been, were there such *innate ideas* ; but by mere fashion and vogue. Is this then fairly told of our admired modern philosopher ? But it was crime enough that he laboured to overthrow *innate ideas* ; things that the noble author understood to be the foundation of his *moral sense*. (See vol. iii. p. 214.) In vain did Mr. *Locke* incessantly repeat, that “ the divine law is the only true touchstone of moral rectitude.” This did but increase his pupil’s resentment, who had all his faculties possessed with the MORAL SENSE, as “ the only true touchstone of moral rectitude.” But the whole Essay itself, one of the noblest, and most original books in the world, could not escape his ridicule : “ In reality (says he, vol. i. p. 299.) how specious a study, how solemn an amusement, is raised from what we call philosophical speculations ! The formation of ideas ! their compositions, comparisons, agreement, and disagreement !—Why do I concern myself in speculations about my ideas ? What is it to me, for instance, to know what kind of idea I

But to go on, and consider the nature of this abuse of the Clergy: It is not only an affront to *Religion*, which, by your practice, you seem to regard as one of the essential branches of literary liberty; but likewise, an insult on *civil Society*. For while there is such a thing as a *Church established by law*, its Ministers must needs bear a *sacred*, that is, a *public* character, even on your own principles^d. To abuse them, therefore, as a body, is insulting the State which protects them. It is highly injurious likewise, because a Body-politic cannot preserve the reverence necessary for the support of government, longer than its public officers, whether civil or religious, are treated with the regard due to their respective stations^e. And here, your apology, when accused of using holy Writ irreverently, is out of doors. You pretend that the Charge is disingenuous, be-

“can form of space? Divide a solid body, *etc.*” and so he goes on in Mr. *Locke*’s own words: And lest the reader should not take the satire, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that “these are the words of the particular author cited.” But the invidious Remark on this quotation surpasses all credit. *Thus the atomist, or EPICUREAN.*

^d “They also that have authority to teach, *etc.* are *public ministers.*” *Leviathan*, p. 124.

^e “Ἀρχεσιν ἢ ὀφειλομένη αἰδῶς καὶ τιμῇ φυλασσομένη κόσμον σώζει πόλεως, καὶ διατηρεῖ. *Ant. Scrip. apud Stob. de rep. Serm. 41.*

cause

cause it takes for granted the thing in dispute. But in the case before us, it is agreed, that the Ministers of the established worship have a *sacred*, that is, a *public* character:

Out of your own mouths likewise, are you condemned. A few instances there are in the first ages of *Christianity*, of something resembling this misconduct; where the intemperance of private zeal now and then gave the affront to the national religion. But who are they that so severely censure this disorder^f? that raise such tragic outcries against the factious spirit of primitive *Christianity*? Who, Gentlemen, but Yourselfes! The very men who, out of spite and wantonness, daily persist in doing what a misguided devotion, now and then, though rarely, betrayed a martyr to commit^g.

But would you read *Christian* antiquity with equal minds, you would not want examples

^f “ The list of *Martyrs* consisted, I believe, of those who
“ suffered for breaking the Peace. The *primitive clergy*
“ were, under pretence of Religion, a very Lawless
“ Tribe.” *L. Bolingbroke*, vol. iv. p. 434.

^g In the LX canon of the council of Eliberis, held about twenty years before the council of Nice, it is decreed that they who were slain by the Gentiles for breaking down their Idols, should not be received by the church into the number of Martyrs, since neither the precepts of the Gospel nor the practice of the Apostles gave any countenance to such licentious behaviour.

of a better conduct. For in general the Apologists for the *Christian* faith observed a decency and moderation, becoming the truth and importance of the cause they had to support. We need only look into *Lactantius* for the modesty of their conduct in this respect.

This eloquent Apologist, who wrote in an age which would have indulged greater liberties, giving in his *divine institutions*, the last stroke to expiring paganism; where he confutes the *national Religion*, spares as much as possible the *Priests*; but in exposing their *Philosophy*, is not so tender of their *Sophists*: For these last having no public character, the State was not concerned to have them managed. Such, I say, was the general behaviour of the first *Christians*.

Nor can you plead, in your excuse, any other necessity, than that inseparable from a weak cause, of committing this violence. The discovery of truth is so far from being advanced by it, that, on the contrary, it carries all the marks of design to retard the search, when you so industriously draw off the reader's attention from the *Cause*, by diverting him at the expence of the *Advocate*.

It is true, that at what time the Clergy so far forgot the nature of their office, and of the cause they were appointed to defend, as to call
in

in the secular arm to support their arguments against wrong opinions, we saw, without much surprise or resentment, You, Gentlemen, in the like delusion, that any means were lawful in support of truth, falling without scruple to affront the Public, (then little disposed to give you an equal hearing) by the abuse of a Body, whose *private* interests the State had indiscreetly espoused. For where was the wonder, when Government had assumed too much, for those who were oppressed by it, to allow it too little? You thought this a fair return; and your candid enemies confessed, that some indulgence was to be given to the passions of men, raised and enflamed by so unequal a treatment. But now, that the *State* hath withdrawn its power, and confined the Administration within its proper office; and that this *learned Body* hath publicly disclaimed its assistance; it will surely be expected, that You, likewise, should return to a better mind, and forsake a practice insolently continued, without any reasonable pretence of fresh provocation.

Your last abuse, Gentlemen, of the liberty of the press, is a certain dissolute habit of mind, regardless both of truth and falsehood, which you betray in all your attacks on Revelation. Who that had not heard of your solemn professions *of the love of liberty, of truth,*
 VOL. I. C of

of virtue, of your aim at the honour of God, and good of men, could ever believe you had any thing of this at heart, when they see that spirit of levity and dissipation which runs through all your writings?

That you may not say I slander you, I will produce those marks in your works, on which I have formed my accusation of this illiberal temper.

1. The first is an unlimited buffoonry; which suffers no test or criterion to your ridicule, to shew us, when you are in jest, and when in earnest.

2. An industrious affectation in keeping your true character out of sight; and in constantly assuming some new and fictitious personage.

3. To support your chicane, an unnatural mixture of the Sceptic and Dogmatist.

And here, Gentlemen, in illustrating these three circumstances of your guilt, one might detect all your *arts of controversy*, and easily reveal the whole mystery of modern *Free-thinking*. But the limits of this address will only permit me in few words to describe the general nature of each; in order to shew, how certain an indication they are of the turn of mind of which, I accuse you.

1. The illimited, UNDISTINGUISHABLE IRONY, which affords no insight into the author's

thor's meaning, or so much room as to guess what he would be at, is our first note. This, which is your favourite figure of speech, your noble Apologist owns to be "a dull sort of wit" which amuses all alike^h. Nay, he even ventures to pronounce it "a gross, immoral, and illiberal way of abuse, foreign to the character of a good writer, a gentleman, or man of worthⁱ." What pity, if he should chance to fall under his own censure! Yet this is certain, he hath so managed his *good humour*, that his admirers may always find a handle either to charge us with credulity, or want of charity, determine as we will of his *true and real* sentiments. However, the noble writer hath not aggravated this folly, in the character he hath given of it: For, here forgetful of your own precepts, (your common-place topic against public instructors) while you prescribe ridicule to be so managed, *as to shew it tends to a serious issue*; you practise it so indiscriminately, as to make one believe you were all the time in jest. While you direct it *to unmask formal hypocrisy*, you suffer it to put sober truth out of countenance; and while you claim its aid, *to find out what is to be laughed at in every thing*, you employ it to bring in every thing to be laughed at.

^h *Charact.* vol. i. tract. ii. pt. i. § 2.

ⁱ Vol. iii. miscel. iv. c. 2.

That a RESTRAINT on free inquiry, will force writers into this vicious manner, we readily allow. Under these circumstances, such a key to ridicule as just writing demands being unsafe; and the only way men have to escape persecution being to cover and intrench themselves in obscurity; it is no wonder that *ridicule* should degenerate into the *buffoonry which amuses all alike*: As in *Italy*, which gave birth to this degenerate species of writing, it is the only way, in which the *poor cramped thinking wretches can discharge a free thought*. But in *Great Britain*, happily for Truth, and You, PHILOSOPHY is at her ease; and you may lead her safely back to Paganism, through all the ancient modes of doubting, objecting, and refuting.

It is difficult, therefore, to assign any other likely cause of this extravagance, than that vicious levity of spirit I have charged upon you. For as Man is formed by nature with an incredible appetite for Truth; so his strongest pleasure, in the enjoyment, arises from the actual communication of it to others. Without this, it would be a cold purchase, would abstract, ideal, solitary Truth; and poorly repay the labour and fatigue of the pursuit. Amongst the Ancients, who, you will allow, had high notions of this SOCIAL SENSE, it was

was a saying recorded by *Cicero* with approbation, “ that even heaven would be no happiness, to him who had not some companion or *social Spirit* to share with him in the pleasure of contemplating the great truths of nature there revealed unto him.” “ Si quis in cœlum ascendisset, naturamque mundi, et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore ; quæ jucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui narraret, habuisset ^k.” *Seneca* goes yet further : “ Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet eximia sit et salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus sim. Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec enunciem, rejiciam : nullius boni, sine socio, jucunda possessio est ^l.” It was this passion which gave birth to writing, and brought literary composition to an art ; whereby the Public was made a sharer in those important truths, which particulars had with so much toil excogitated for its use and entertainment. The principal object therefore of an author, while his passions are in their right state, must needs be to deliver his sentiments and opinions with all possible clearness ; so that no particular cast of composition, or turn of expression, which he held conducive to the embellish-

^k *De Amicitia*,

^l *Ep. vi.*

ment of his work, he suffered to throw an ambiguity on his propositions, which might mislead the reader in judging of his real sentiments. To such a one, nothing can be a greater mortification than to find that this his principal purpose was defeated.

But when, on the contrary, we see a writer, so far from discovering any thing of this care, that an air of negligence appears in every thing he delivers; a visible contempt of his reader's satisfaction; to which he prefers a dull malicious pleasure of misguiding him in the obscurity of an illimited ridicule; we cannot possibly avoid concluding that such a one is far gone in this wretched depravity of heart.

2. Another mark, is Your perpetually assuming some PERSONATED CHARACTER, as the exigence of chicane requires. For the dispute is to be kept on foot; and therefore, when in danger of coming to an issue, a new personage is to be assumed, that the trial of skill may be fought over again with different weapons. So that the modern Free-thinker, is a perfect *Proteus*. He is now a Dissenter, or a Papist; now again a Jew, or a Mahometan; and, when closely pressed and hunted through all the shapes, he at length starts up in his genuine form, an INFIDEL confessed^m.

* Mr. Collins.

Indeed

Indeed where the Magistrate hath confined the liberty of free debate, to one or two Professions of belief, There an unlicensed writer hath no way of publishing his speculations, but under the cover of one of these authorized Sects. But to affect this practice when the necessity is over, is licentious and immoral. For the personated character, only arguing *ad hominem*, embroils, rather than directs us, in the search of truth; has a natural tendency to promote scepticism; and if not this, yet it keeps the dispute from ever coming to an issue; which is attended with great public inconveniencies. For though the discovery of speculative truth be of much importance to the perfection of man's nature, yet the studious lengthening out literary debates is pernicious to Society, as Societies are generally formed. Therefore, though the good of mankind would set an honest man upon publishing what he supposes to be discoveries in truth; yet the same motive would oblige him to take the fairest, and most direct road to their reception.

But I would not have it thought, by this, that I condemn the assuming a *personated character* on all occasions whatsoever. There are seasons when it is fair and expedient. When the dispute is about the PRACTICAL application of some truth to the good of a particular society;

ciety ; there it is prudent to take up a suitable character, and to argue *ad hominem*. For there, the end is a benefit to be gained for that society ; and it is not of so great moment on what principles the majority is prevailed upon to make the society happy, as it is, that it should speedily become so. But in the discovery of ABSTRACT SPECULATIVE truth, the affair goes quite otherwise. The business here is *demonstration*, not *persuasion*. And it is of the essence of truth, to be made appear and shine out only by its own lustre.

A familiar example will support this observation. Our great *British* philosopher, writing for *religious liberty*, combats his *intolerant* adversary, all the way, with his own Principles ; well knowing that, in such a time of prejudices, arguments built on received opinions, would have greatest weight, and make quickest impression on the body of the People, whom it was his business to gain. But the method he employed in defending mere speculative truth was very different. A Prelate of great name, was pleased to attack his *Essay concerning human understanding* ; who, though consummate in the learning of the Schools, yet happened at that time to apply his principles so very awkwardly, as gave our Philosopher the most inviting opportunity of turning them against him. An advantage most to the taste of him who
contentds

contends only for victory : but he contended for truth ; and was too wise to think of establishing it on falshood ; and too honest to affect triumphing over Error by any thing but by its Opposite.

You see then, Gentlemen, you are not likely to escape by this distinction : the dispute with you is about *speculative truth* : Yourselfs take care to give the world repeated information of it, as often as you think fit to feign an apprehension of the Magistrate's resentment.

But of as little use as this method, of the *personated character*, is, in itself, to the just end of controversy, you generally add a double share of disingenuity in conducting it. Common sense, as well as Common honesty, requires, that he who assumes a *personated character*, should fairly stick to it, for that turn, at least. But we shall be greatly deceived, if we presume on so much condescension : the late famous author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, took it into his head to personate a *Jew*, in the interpretation of some prophecies which he would persuade us are not applicable to *Jesus*. The learned Prelate, who undertook to answer him, having shewn that those prophecies had no completion under the *Jewish* dispensation, concludes very pertinently, *that if they did not belong to Jesus, they*

they belong to no one. What says our impostor *Jew* to this? One would be astonished at his reply: *Suppose they do not*, says he, *I am not answerable for their completion.* What! not as a *Jew*? whose person he assumes, and whose argument he borrows: which argument is not founded on this, That the characters of completion, according to the *Christian* scheme, do not coincide and quadrate; to which, indeed, the above answer would be pertinent; but on this, that there are complete characters of the completion of the prophecies, under the *Jewish* œconomy; and therefore, says the *Jew*, you are not to look for those marks under the *Christian*. The only reasonable way then of replying to this argument, is to deny, that there are such marks under the *Jewish* œconomy; which if the *Jew* cannot prove, his objection, founded on a *prior completion*, is intirely overthrown. Instead of this, we are put off with the cold buffoonry of, *I am not obliged to find a meaning for your prophecies.*

3. The third mark of this abandoned spirit, is that unnatural MIXTURE OF THE SCEPTIC AND DOGMATIST, which so monstiously variegates your misshapen works. I do not mean by it, that unreasonable temper of mind, which distinguishes the whole class of Free-thinkers; and suffers you, at the same time that you affect

fect much *scepticism* in rejecting Revelation, to *dogmatize* very positively on some favourite points of civil tradition. The noble author, your Apologist, could not forbear to ridicule his party for this foibleⁿ. “It must certainly, says he, be something else than incredulity which fashions the taste and judgment of many Gentlemen, whom we hear censured as Atheists.—Who, if they want a true *Israelitish* faith, can make amends by a *Chinese* or *Indian* one.—Though *Christian* miracles may not so well satisfy them, they dwell with the highest contentment on the prodigies of *Moorish* and *Pagan* countries.”

This is ill enough; but the perversity, I speak of, is much worse: and that is, when the same writer, on different occasions, assumes the *Dogmatist* and *Sceptic* on the same question; and so abuses both Characters, in all the perversity of self-contradiction.

For instance, how common is it for one of Your writers, when he brings *Pagan* antiquity to contradict and discredit the *Jewish*, to cry up a Greek historian as an evidence, to which nothing can be objected? An imperfect hint from *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus*, though one lived a thousand, and the other fifteen hundred years after the case in question, picked up from any

ⁿ *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 345. edit. 3.

lying traveller the one met with in his rambles, or the other found in his collections, shall now outweigh the circumstantial History of *Moses*, who wrote of his own People, and lived in the times he wrote of. But now turn the tables, and apply the testimony of these Writers, and of others of the best credit of the same nation, to the confirmation of the *Jewish history*, and then nothing is more uncertain and fallacious than classical Antiquity. All is darkness and confusion : then we are sure to hear of,

—Quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historia.—

Then *Herodotus* is a lying traveller, and *Diodorus Siculus* a tasteless collector.

Again, when the choice and separation of the *Israelites* for God's peculiar People, is to be brought in question, and made ridiculous ; they are represented as the vilest, the most profligate, and perverse race of men : then every indiscreet passage of a *declamatory Divine* is raked up with care to make them odious ; and even the hard fate of the great historian *Josephus* pitied, that he had “ no better a subject than such an illiterate, barbarous, and “ ridiculous people °.” But when the Scripture-account of the treatment, which the Holy *Jesus* met with from them, is thought fit to

° *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 157.

be disputed; these *Jews* are become an humane and wise Nation; which never interfered with the teachings of sects, or the propagation of opinions, but where the public safety was thought to be in danger by seditious doctrines.

But so it is, even with the BIBLE itself, and its best interpreter, HUMAN REASON. It is generally allowed that the Author of *the Discourse of Free-thinking*, and of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, was one and the same person. Now it being to this man's purpose in the first pamphlet, to blast the credit of the book in general, as a *rule of faith*, the Bible is represented as a most obscure, dark, incomprehensible collection of multifarious tracts. But in his discourse of *The Grounds*, etc. where ^p he is to obviate the reason of the difficulty in explaining ancient Prophecies, drawn from the genius of the Eastern style, sentiment, and manners; this very book is, on a sudden, become so easy, plain, and intelligible, that no one can possibly mistake its meaning.

Again, the same Writer, where, in his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason*, he thinks fit to discredit the doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, and other mysteries of the *Christian faith*, represents human reason as omniscient,

^p *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 68. and of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 81—2.

and the full measure of all things : but when the proof of the *immateriality of the soul*, from the qualities of MATTER and SPIRIT, is to be obstinately opposed, the scene is shifted, and we are presented with a new face of things : then Reason becomes weak, staggering, and impotent : then we know not but one quality may be another quality ; one mode, another mode ; Motion may be consciousness ; and Matter sentient ^a.

These, Gentlemen, are the several ways in which you have abused the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. One might defy you, with all your good will or invention, to contrive a new one, or to go further in the old : You have done your worst. It is time to think of growing better. This is the only inference I would draw from your bad conduct. For I am not one of those who say you should be disfranchised of the Rights you have so wantonly and wickedly abused. *Natural* rights were less precariously bestowed : the *Civil*, indeed, are frequently given on the condition of the Receiver's good behaviour. And this difference, in the security of the possession, is founded in the plainest reason. *Natural* rights are so necessary to our Being, that, without them, Life becomes miserable ; but the *Civil* only contributing to our

^a See his Answers to Dr. Clarke.

easier accommodation, in some circumstances of it, may be forfeited without injury to our common Nature.

In a word then, all that we desire is your amendment; without any sinister aim of calling upon the Magistrate to quicken your pace. So I leave you, as I dare say will *He*, to yourselves. Nor let any good man be above measure scandalized at your faults; or more impatient for your reformation, than mere charity demands. I do not know what panic the present growth of Infidelity may have thrown some of us into: I, for my part, confide so much in the goodness of our Cause, that I too could be tempted to *laugh* in my turn, while I think of an old story told us by *Herodotus*^r, of your favourite EGYPTIANS; of whom you are like

^r Lib. ii. c. 14. vid. Plutarch. *Symp.* l. iv. Prob. 5. The learned Gale cannot be reconciled to this kind of husbandry. He is therefore for having the word ὕς, used by *Herodotus*, not to signify *swine*, but *cows* or *heifers*. His authority for this use of the word is *Hesychius*. But *Plutarch* is a much better for the other signification, who in his *Symp.* quoted above, speaking to the question Πότερον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σεβόμενοι τὴν ὕν, etc. mentions this very circumstance of tillage from *Herodotus*, and understands by ὕς *swine*. The truth of the matter seems to be this, *Hesychius* found that ὕς, in some obscure province or other, meant a *Heifer*, as κᾶ-πρῶ amongst the *Tyrrhenians*, we are told, meant a *goat*, and so put it down to enrich his dictionary with an unusual signification.

to hear a great deal in the following work. With this tale I shall beg leave to conclude my long address unto you.

He tells us then, that at what time their Deity, the NILE, returns into his ancient channel; and the husbandman hath committed the *good seed* to the opening glebe, it was their custom to turn in whole droves of SWINE; to range, to trample, root up, and destroy at pleasure. And now nothing appeared but desolation, while the ravages of the obscene herd had killed every chearful hope of future plenty. When on the issue, it was seen, that all their perversity and dirty taste had effected, was only this; that the SEED took better root, incorporated more kindly with the soil, and at length shot up in a more luxuriant and abundant harvest.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, *etc.*

P R E-

POSTSCRIPT.

A POET and a Critic*, of equal eminence, have concurred, tho' they did not start together, to censure what was occasionally said in this *Dedication* (as if it had been addressed to them) *of the use and abuse of Ridicule*. The Poet was a follower of Lord Shaftsbury's fancies; the Critic a follower of his own. Both Men of TASTE, and equally anxious for the well doing of RIDICULE. I have given some account of the latter in a note of the *Dedication*^a. The other was too full of the subject and of himself to be dispatched with so little Ceremony: He must therefore undergo an examination apart.

Since it is (says he) beyond all contradiction evident, that we have a natural sense or feeling of the ridiculous, and since so good a Reason may be assigned to justify the supreme Being for bestowing it; ONE CANNOT WITHOUT ASTONISHMENT reflect on the conduct of those Men who imagine it for the service of true Religion to vilify and blacken it WITHOUT DISTINCTION, and endeavour to persuade us that it

* See *Pleasures of Imag.* and *Elements of Criticism*.

^a Page xxi.

is never applied but in a bad cause^b. The Reason here given, to shew, that *Ridicule* and *Buffocnery* may be properly employed on serious and even sacred subjects, is admirable: it is because we have *a natural sense or feeling of the ridiculous*, and because *no sensation was given us in vain*; which would serve just as well to excuse *Adultery* or *Incest*. For have we not as *natural a sense or feeling of the voluptuous*? Yes, he will say, but this *sense* has its proper object, *virtuous love*, not *adulterous* or *incestuous*: And does he think, I will not say the same of his *sense of the ridiculous*? Its proper objects are, not weighty and Sacred matters, but the civil customs and common occurrences of life. For he stretched a point when he told the Reader, I *vilified and blacken'd it without distinction*. The thing I there oppos'd, was *the abusive way of art and raillery on religious Subjects*. With as little regard to Truth did he say, that I *endeavoured to persuade the Public that it is never applied but in a bad Cause*: For, in that very place, I apologized for an eminent Writer who had applied it in a good one.

Ridicule (says he) is not [i. e. ought not to be] concerned with mere speculative Truth, and Falshood. Certainly. And, for that very reason I would exclude it from those Subjects.

^b *Pleas, of Imag.* p. 105-6.

What need? he will say, For when was it so employed? When, does he ask? — When his Master ridiculed the *Subject* of Mr. Locke's *ESSAY OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING*, in the manner there mentioned. When the same noble Person ridiculed *REVELATION*, in the merry Story of the travelling Gentlemen, who put a *wrong bias on their Reason* in order to believe right^c. —

He goes on, *It is not in abstract Propositions on Theorems, but in Actions and Passions, Good and Evil, Beauty and Deformity, that we find Materials for it; and all these Terms are relative, implying Approbation or Blame.* The reason here given, why, not *abstract Propositions*, &c. but *Actions and Passions*, &c. are the subject of *ridicule* is, because these latter are *relative Terms* implying *Approbation and Blame*. But are not the former as much *relative Terms*, implying *Assent and Denial*? And does not an absurd Proposition as frequently afford materials for *Ridicule* as an absurd action? Let the Reader determine by what he finds before him. — *To ask then, (says he) whether Ridicule be a Test of truth, is, in other words, to ask whether that which is ridiculous can be morally true; can be just and becom-*

^c *Charact.* Vol. III. Misc. 2. c. 3. p. 99.

ing: or whether that which is just and becoming can be ridiculous. A question that does not deserve a serious answer. However, in civility to his Master, or rather indeed to his Master's Masters, the ancient *Sophists*, who we are told^a in the *Characteristics*, said something very like it, I shall give it a serious answer. For how, I pray, comes it to pass, that to ask whether ridicule be a test of truth, is the same thing as to ask whether that which is ridiculous can be morally true? As if, whatever thing the test of Ridicule was applied to, must needs be ridiculous. Might not one ask Whether the Copel^e be a test of gold, without incurring any absurdity in questioning, Whether the matter to which the Copel is applied be standard gold. But he takes a test of truth and a detection of error to be one and the same thing; and that nothing is brought to this test but what was known beforehand, whether it was true or false. His Master seems much better versed in the use of things. ^f Now, what rule or measure (says he) is there in the world, except in considering the real temper of things, to find which are truly serious, and which ridiculous? And how can this be done, unless by applying (the ridicule TO SEE WHETHER IT WILL BEAR?

^a 'Twas a saying of an ancient Sage, that humour was the only Test of Ridicule. Vol. I. p. 74.

^e Coppella, It. in English, a test. Vol. I. p. 12.

^f Charact.

But

POSTSCRIPT.

[xxxvii]

But if the Reader be curious to see to the bottom of this affair, he must go a little deeper. Lord Shaftsbury, we find, was willing to know, as every honest Man would, Whether those things, which had the appearance of seriousness and sanctity, were indeed what they appeared. The way of coming to this knowledge had been hitherto by the *test of reason*. But this was too dull and tedious a road for this lively Genius. He would go a shorter and a pleasanter way to work, and do the business by *ridicule*; given us, as his Disciple tells us, *to aid the tardy steps of Reason*. This the noble Author would needs apply, to see *whether the appearances would bear the Touch*. Now it was this ingenious expedient, to which I thought I had cause to object. For when he had applied this *Touch*, and that that, to which it was applied, was found to endure it, what reparation could he make to Truth, for thus placing her in a ridiculous and idle light, in order only, as he pretended, to judge rightly of her? Oh, for that, said his Lordship, she has the amends in her own hands: Let her smile again; *for why should fair Honesty be denied the use of his Weapon*? To this so wanton a liberality with sacred Truth, I thought I had many good reasons to oppose; and so, it seems, thought our Poet likewise: Or why did

§ Charact. Vol. I. p. 128.

he endeavour to excuse his Master, by putting another sense on *the application of ridicule as a Test*, which implies that the Truth or Falshood of the thing tried, is *already known*. But the shift is unlucky; for while it covers his Master, it exposes himself. For now it may be asked, what need of ridicule at all, after the Truth is *known*; since the sole use of a *test*, according to his Master, consists in enabling us to *discover* the true state of things?

But now he comes to the *Philosophy* of his Criticism on my absurdity. For it is most evident (says he) *that as in a metaphysical Proposition offered to the Understanding for its assent, the faculty of Reason examines the terms of the Proposition; and finding one Idea, which was supposed equal to another, to be in fact unequal, of consequence rejects the Proposition as a falshood: So in Objects offered to the Mind for its esteem or applause, the faculty of ridicule feeling an incongruity in the claim, urges the Mind to reject it with laughter and contempt.* And now, how does his sublime account, of Reason and Ridicule, prove the foregoing Proposition to be absurd? Just as much, I suppose, as the height of St. Paul's proves GRANTHAM Steeple to stand wry.

However, if it cannot prove what preceeds, he will try to make it infer what follows: *When*

THERE-

THEREFORE (says he) we observe such a claim obtruded upon Mankind, and the inconsistent circumstances carefully concealed from the eye of the Public, it is our business, if the matter be of importance to Society, to drag out those latent circumstances, and, by setting them full in view, convince the World how ridiculous the Claim is; and thus a double advantage is gained; for we both detect the moral Falshood sooner than in the way of speculative enquiry, and impress the minds of Men with a stronger sense of the vanity and error of its Authors. And this, and no more, is meant by the application of Ridicule. A little more, if we may believe his Master: who says, it is not only to detect Error, but to try Truth, that is, in his own expression, to see whether it will bear. But why all this a-do; for now, we see, no body mistook what was meant by the application of Ridicule, but himself.—As to what he said before, that when Objects are offered to the Mind for its esteem and applause, the faculty of Ridicule, feeling an incongruity in the Claim, urges the Mind to reject it with laughter and contempt; it is so expressed, as if he intended it not for the description of the Use, but the essence of Ridicule. But the dealers in this Trash frequently urge the Mind to reject many things with laughter and contempt, without feeling any other incongruity, than in their own pretensions to Truth and Honesty. And this, our Poet seems to be no stranger to.

For now he comes to the point.—*But it is said the practice is dangerous, and may be inconsistent with the regard we owe to Objects of real dignity and excellence. I answer, the practice, FAIRLY MANAGED, can never be dangerous.* Who, ever thought any thing, FAIRLY MANAGED to be dangerous? The danger is in the *abuse* or *unfair management*. The use of Stilleto's and Poisons, FAIRLY MANAGED, can never be dangerous. And yet this has not hindered all wise States, whenever they have found a violent propensity to the handling of these things, to forbid their promiscuous use, under the severest penalties, to prevent abuse and *unfair management*.

However, he allows at length, that *Men may be dishonest in obtruding circumstances foreign to the Object; and we may be inadvertent in allowing those circumstances to impose upon us; but——but what? Why the SENSE OF RIDICULE ALWAYS JUDGES RIGHT.* And, he had told us before, that this is a *natural sense, and bestowed upon us by the supreme Being, to aid our tardy steps in pursuit of Reason.* Why, as he says, who can withstand this? Nothing can be clearer! Writers may be dishonest; Readers may be misled; and, the Public judge wrong. But what then, the *sense of Ridicule always judges right.* And while
we

we can support our *Platonic republic of Ideas*, it signifies little what becomes of the People, the *Fæces Romuli*. And so again it is in the use of Poisons: *Men may be dishonest in obtruding them; and we inadvertent enough to be imposed upon.* But what then? The Virtue of Poison always does its kind. *It is a natural power, and bestowed upon it by the supreme Being, to aid our tardy steps in pursuit of Vermin.*—In truth, one would imagine, by this extraordinary argument, that the question was not of *the injury to Society* by the abuse of Ridicule, but of *the injury to Ridicule itself.*

But let us hear him out: *The Socrates of Aristophanes is (it will be said) as truly a ridiculous character as ever was drawn. True; but it is not the character of Socrates, the divine Moralist, and Father of ancient Wisdom.* Indeed!—But then, if, like the true *Sofia*, in the other Comedy, *he* must bear the blows of his fictitious Brother, what reparation is there to injured Virtue, to tell us, that he did not deserve them?

Again,—*What then? Did the ridicule of the Poet hinder the Philosopher from detecting and disclaiming those foreign circumstances which he had falsely introduced into his character, and thus rendering the Satirist doubly ridiculous in his turn.* See here again!

again ! all his concern, we find, is, lest good Raillery should be beat at its own weapons. No, indeed, I cannot see how it could possibly *binder the Philosopher from detecting and disclaiming*. But *this* it did, which surely deserves a little consideration, it hindered the *People* from seeing what he had *detected and disclaimed* — A mighty consolation, truly, to the illustrious Sufferer that he *disclaimed* the Fool's Coat they had put upon him !

But what is the Sacrifice of a SOCRATES now and then, to secure to us the *free* use of that inestimable blessing, BUFFOONRY ? So thinks our Poet ; when all the Answer he gives to so natural, so compassionate an objection as this, — *it nevertheless had an ill influence on the minds of the People*, — is telling us a story of the Atheist Spinoza ; while the godlike Socrates is left deserted, in the hands of his Judges ; whither RIDICULE, this noble guide of Truth, had safely brought him.

But let us hear the concluding answer which the *respectable* Spinoza is employed to illustrate. — *And so* (says he) *has the reasoning of Spinoza made many Atheists ; he has founded it indeed on Suppositions utterly false ; but allow him these, and his Conclusions are unavoidably true. And if we must reject the use of Ridicule because, by the imposition*

of false circumstances, things may be made to seem ridiculous, which are not so in themselves, Why we ought not in the same manner to reject the use of Reason, because, by proceeding on false Principles, conclusions will appear true which are impossible in Nature, let the vehement and obstinate Declaimers against Ridicule determine.

Nay, we dare trust it with any one; whose common sense is not all run to *Taste*. What! because REASON, the guide of Life, the support of Religion, the investigator of Truth, must be still used tho' it be continually subject to abuse; therefore RIDICULE, the poultry buffoon Mimic of REASON, must have the same indulgence! Because a KING must be intrusted with Government, tho' he may misuse his power; therefore the King's Fool shall be suffered to play the Madman! But upon what footing standeth this extraordinary Claim? Why, we have a *natural sense of the Ridiculous*; and the *Ridiculous has a natural feeling of the Incongruous*; and then——who can forbear LAUGHING? If to this, you add *Taste, Beauty, Deformity, Moral-sense, Moral-rectitude, Moral-falshood*, you have then, I think, the whole Theory of the RIDICULOUS. But who would have imagined, that while he was defending Ridicule from the charge of ABUSE, he should be adding fresh exceptions to his own
Plea?

Plea? Not indeed, that the comment disgrac'd the Text; or that there was much *Incongruity* in pleading for a fault he was just then committing. But so it is, that, where he is poetically marshalling the follies of human Life, he places the whole *body of the Christian Clergy* in the foremost rank. Amongst such, who, he tells us, *assume some desirable quality or possession which evidently does not belong to them*^h.

“ Others, of graver Mien, behold; adorn'd
 “ With holy Ensigns, how *sublime* they move,
 “ And, bending oft their *sanctimonious* Eyes,
 “ Take homage of the *Simple-minded Throng*,
 “ AMBASSADORS OF HEAV'Nⁱ.

——But let it go for what it is; A poor joke of his Master's^k, and spoil'd too in the telling. The *dulness* of the *Ridicule* will sufficiently atone for the *abuse* of it.

^h Page 49.
 Vol. III. p. 336.

ⁱ Page 96.

^k Charact.

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P R E F A C E

T O T H E

F I R S T E D I T I O N

In MDCCXXXVIII.

TH E following sheets make the *first* volume of a work, designed to prove the DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE JEWISH RELIGION. As the author was neither indebted, nor engaged to the Public, he hath done his Readers no injury in not giving them more; and had they not had *this*, neither he nor they, perhaps, had esteemed themselves losers. For writing for no Party, it is likely he will please none; and begging no Protection, it is more likely he will find none: and he must have more of the confidence of a modern Writer than falls to his share, to think of making much way with the feeble effort of his own reason.

Writers, indeed, have been oft betrayed into strange absurd conclusions, from I can't tell what obsolete claim, which LETTERS have to the patronage of the GREAT: a relation, if indeed there ever were any, long since worn out and forgotten; the *Great* now seeming reasonably well convinced, that it had never any better foundation than the rhetorical importunity of Beggars.

But however this claim of Patronage may be understood, there is another of a more important nature; which is the Patronage of RELIGION. The Author begs leave to assure Those who have no time to spare from their attention on the Public, that the Protection of Religion is indispensably necessary to all Governments; and for his warrant he offers them the following volume; which endeavours to shew the necessity of RELIGION in general, and of the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE in particular, to civil Society, from the nature of things and the universal consent of Mankind. The proving this, I make no question, many Politicians will esteem sufficient: But those who are solicitous to have Religion TRUE as well as USEFUL, the author will endeavour to satisfy in the following volumes.

T H E
 DIVINE LEGATION
 O F
M O S E S
 DEMONSTRATED.

B O O K I.

S E C T. I.

THE Writers, in defence of revealed Religion, distinguish their arguments into two sorts: the one they call the INTERNAL, and the other the EXTERNAL Evidence. Of these, the first is, in its nature, more simple and perfect; and even capable of demonstration: while the other, made up of very dissimilar materials, and borrowing aid from without, must needs have some parts of unequal strength with the rest; and, consequently, lie open to the attacks of a willing adversary. Besides, the *internal* evidence is, by its nature, perpetuated; and so fitted for all ages and occasions: while the *external*, by length of time, weakens and decays. For the nature and genius of the religion defended afford-

ing the proofs of the first kind, these materials of defence are inseparable from its existence; and so throughout all ages the same. But Time may, and doth efface memorials independent of that existence; out of which the *external* evidence is composed: which evidence must therefore become more and more imperfect, without being affected by that whimsical and partial calculation, to which a certain *Scotchman*^a would subject it^b. Nay, of such use is the *internal* evidence, that, even the very best of the *external* cannot support itself without it: for when (for instance) the supernatural facts done by the founders of our holy faith, are unquestionably verified by human testimony, the evidence of their divinity will not follow till the nature of that doctrine be examined, for whose establishment they were performed. Indeed, in the instance here given, they must be enforced in conjunction before any conclusion can be drawn for the truth of the Revelation in question. But were there no other benefit arising from the cultivation of the *internal* evidence than the gaining, by it, a more perfect

^a Craig. *Theologiæ Christi Principia Mathematica*, London, 1699, 4^{to}.

^b This gradual weakening of the *external evidence* hath in fact actually happened; and was occasioned by the loss of several ancient testimonies, both Pagan and Christian, for the truth of Revelation; which learned men, on several occasions, have frequently lamented. This is the only way, I suppose, the *external evidence* can weaken.—As it is of the nature of *true Religion* to suffer by time, so it is of the nature of the *false* to gain by it. “L’Antiquité convient à la Religion (says the learned *President de Mo t sq ieu*) parce que souvent nous croyons plus les choses à mesure qu’elles sont plus reculées; car nous n’avons pas dans la tête des idées accessoires tirées de ces temps-là, qui puissent les contredire.” *L’Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxvi. c. 2. For whatever Religion, thus circumstanced, the Writer had then in his thoughts, he must needs suppose it to be a false one; it being nonsense to suppose the true should ever be attended with any *external evidence* which argued it of falsehood.

knowledge of God's word; this, sure, would be enough to engage us in a vigorous prosecution of it. That this is one of its fruits I need not tell such as are acquainted with its nature. And it is not without occasion I take notice of this advantage: for who, in this long controversy between us and the Deists, hath not applied to certain advocates of Revelation, what was formerly said of *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, that they undertook the defence of Christianity before they understood it? A misfortune which probably, the more careful study of the *internal* evidence would have prevented; because no one, well versed in *that*, could have continued ignorant of so important a principle, as that THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION IS OF THE VERY ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Notwithstanding these superior advantages, it hath so happened, that the *internal* evidence hath been hitherto used as an introduction only to the *external*: and while by the *latter*, men have proved our Religion actually divine, they have gone no further with the *former*, than to shew it worthy indeed of such original.

What may have occasioned this neglect, is not so easy to say. Perhaps it was because Writers have, in general, imagined that the difficulties of prosecuting the *internal* method to effect, are not so easily surmounted as those which attend the other; as supposing that the Writer on the *external* evidence hath only need of the usual provision of church-history, common diligence, and judgment, to become master of his subject; while the reasoner on the *internal* proof, must, besides these, have a thorough knowledge of human Nature, civil Policy, the universal history of Mankind, an exact idea of the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Dispensations cleared from the froth and grounds of school-subtilties, and church-systems; and, above all, should be blessed with a certain sagacity, to investigate the relations

of human actions, through all the combinations of natural, civil, and moral complexities. What may suggest this conclusion is, their reflecting, that, in the *external* evidence, each circumstance, that makes for the truth of revealed Religion, is seen to do so, as soon as known : so that the chief labour, here, is to search and pick out such, and to place them in their proper light and situation ; but that, in prosecuting the *internal* evidence, the case is widely different : a circumstance in the frame and composition of this Religion, which perhaps, some time or other, may be discovered to be a Demonstration of its divinity, shall be so far from being generally thought assistant in its proof, that it shall be esteemed, by most, a prejudice against it : of which, I suppose, the subject of the following discourse will afford a remarkable Example. And no wonder, that a Religion of divine original, constituted to serve many admirable ends of Providence, should be full of such complicated mysteries, as filled the learned Apostle with astonishment. On the other hand, this Religion being for the use of man, we need not despair, when we have attained a proper knowledge of man's nature, and the dependencies thereon, of making still growing discoveries, on the *internal* evidence, of the divinity of its original.

Now, though all this may be true ; and that, consequently, it would appear a childish arrogance in an ordinary writer, after having seen the difficulties attending this method, to hope to overcome them, by the qualities here said to be required ; yet no modest searcher after truth need be discouraged. For there are, in revealed Religion, besides those interior marks of truth, above described, which require the delicate operation of a great Genius and Master-workman to bring out and polish, others also, no less illustrious, but more univocal

univocal marks of truth, which God hath been pleased to impress upon his Dispensations; which require no great qualities, but humility, and love of truth, in him, who would from thence attempt to *vindicate the ways of God to man*.

The Subject of this Discourse is one of those illustrious marks; from which, the discoverer claims no merit from any long, learned, or laborious search. It is honour enough for him that he is the first who brings it out to observation; if he be indeed the first. For the demonstration is so strong and beautiful, and, at the same time, appears to be so easy and simple, that one cannot tell whether the pleasure of the discovery, or the wonder that it is now to make, be the greater.

The Medium, I employ, is the Omission of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, in the laws and religion *Moses* delivered to the *jewish* people. By this, I pretend to carry the *internal* evidence much further than usual; even to the height of which it is capable, moral demonstration.

Why I chuse to begin with the defence of *Moses*, is from observing a notion to have spread very much of late, even amongst many who would be thought *Christians*, that the truth of Christianity is independent of the *jewish* Dispensation: a notion, which was, 'till now, peculiar to the *Socinians*; who go so far as to maintain^c, *that the knowledge of the Old Testament is not absolutely necessary for Christians*: and, those who profess to think more soberly, are generally gone into an opinion that the truth of the *jewish* Religion is impossible to be proved but upon the truth of the *Christian*. As to the first sort of people, if they really imagine Christianity hath no dependence on Judaism, they deserve our compassion,

^c Cuper, advers. Tract. Theol. Polit. lib. i.

as being plainly ignorant of the very elements of the Religion they profess; however suitable the opinion may be to a modern fashionable notion, not borrowed from, but the same with, the *Socinian*, that *Christianity is only the republication of the religion of Nature*. As for the more sober, it is reasonable to think, that they fell into the mistake from a view of difficulties, in the *jewish* Dispensation, which they judged too stubborn to be removed. I may pretend then to their thanks, if I succeed, by coming so seasonably to their relief; and freeing their reasonings from a vicious circle, which would first prove the *christian* by the *jewish*; and then the *jewish*, by the *christian* Religion.

Why I chuse this medium, namely, *the omission of a future state in the jewish Dispensation*, to prove its divine original, is, *First*, for the sake of the **DEISTS**: being enabled hereby to shew them, 1. That this very circumstance of *Omission*, which they pretend to be such an imperfection, as makes the Dispensation unworthy the Author to whom we ascribe it, is, in truth, a Demonstration that God only could give it. 2. That those several important passages of Scripture, which they charge with obscurity, injustice, and contradiction, are, indeed, full of light, equity, and concord. 3. That their high notions of the antiquity of the Religion and Learning of the *Ægyptians*, which they incessantly produce, as *their palmary argument*, to confront and overturn the history of *Moses*, do, in an invincible manner, confirm and support it.

Secondly, For the sake of the **JEWS**; who will, at the same time, be shewn, that the nature of the **THEOCRACY** here delivered, and the **OMISSION** of the doctrine of a future state in that Dispensation, evidently obliges them to look for a more perfect revelation of God's Will.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, For the sake of the SOCINIANS; who will find, that *Christianity* agrees neither with itself, nor with *Judaism*; neither with the Dispensations of God, nor the declared purpose of his Son's Mission, on their principle, of it's being only a *republication of the religion of Nature*.

In this Demonstration, therefore, which we suppose very little short of mathematical certainty, and to which nothing but a mere physical possibility of the contrary, can be opposed, we demand only this single *Postulatum*, that hath all the clearness of self-evidence; namely,

“That a skilful Lawgiver, establishing a Religion,
“and civil Policy, acts with certain views, and
“for certain ends; and not capriciously, or with-
“out purpose or design.”

This being granted, we erect our Demonstration on these three very clear and simple propositions:

1. “THAT TO INCUPLICATE THE DOCTRINE OF
“A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISH-
“MENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING
“OF CIVIL SOCIETY.
2. “THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE
“MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF AN-
“TIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING
“AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS
“OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.
3. “THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE
“OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO
“BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF,
“THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Propositions so clear and evident, that one would think, we might directly proceed to our Conclusion,

THAT

THAT THEREFORE THE LAW OF MOSES IS OF DIVINE ORIGINAL. Which, one or both of the two following SYLLOGISMS will evince.

I. Whatsoever Religion and Society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence:

The *Jewish* Religion and Society had no future state for their support:

Therefore, the *Jewish* Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence.

And again, II. The ancient Lawgivers universally believed that such a Religion could be supported only by an extraordinary Providence.

MOSES, an ancient Lawgiver, versed in all the wisdom of *Egypt*, purposely instituted such a Religion.

Therefore, *Moses* believed his Religion was supported by an extraordinary Providence.

But so capricious are men's passions, now for PARADOX, and now for SYSTEM, that these, with all their evidence, have need of a very particular defence; Libertines and Unbelievers denying the MAJOR propositions of both these *Syllogisms*; and many Bigots amongst Believers, the MINOR of the first. These passions, however different with regard to the objects that excite them, and to the subjects in which they are found, have this in common, that they never rise but on the ruins of Reason. The business of the Religionist being to establish, if his Understanding be too much narrowed, he contracts himself into *System*: and that of the Infidel, to overturn; if his Will be depraved, he, as naturally, runs out into *Paradoxes*. Slavish, or licentious thinking, the two extremes of free enquiry, shuts them up from all instructive views, or makes them fly out beyond

beyond all reasonable limits. And as extremes fall easily into one another, we sometimes see the opposite writers change hands: the Infidel, to shew something like coherence in his *paradoxes*, represents them as the several parts of a *system*; and the Religionist, to give a relish to his *system*, powders it with *paradoxes*: in which arts, two late *Hibernians*^d, the heroes of their several parties, were very notably practised and distinguished.

It was not long then before I found, that the discovery of this important truth would ingage me in a full dilucidation of the *Premises* of the two *Syllogisms*: the *Major* of both requiring a severe search into the civil Policy, Religion, and Philosophy of ancient times; and the *Minor*, a detailed account of the nature and genius of the *jewish* Dispensation. The present volume is destined to the first part of this labour; and the following, to the second. Where, in removing the objections which lie in our way, on both sides, we shall be obliged to stretch the inquiry high and wide. But this, always, with an eye to the direction of our great master of reason^e, to endeavour, throughout the body of this discourse, that every former part may give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before.

S E C T. II.

THE first proposition, THAT TO INCULCATE THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY, I shall endeavour to prove, from the nature of man, and the genius of civil society.

^d See the discourse called *Nazarenus — An Epistolary Discourse concerning the Immortality of the Soul. — Dissertationes Cyprianicæ, &c.*

^e Hooker.

The general appetite of self-preservation being most indispensable to every animal, nature hath made it the strongest of all. And though, in the rational, this faculty alone might be supposed sufficient to answer the end, for which that appetite is bestowed on the others, yet, the better to secure that end, nature hath given man, likewise, a very considerable share of the same instinct, with which she hath endowed brutes so admirably to provide for their preservation. Now whether it was some *plastic Nature* that was here in fault, which *Bacon* says, *knows not how to keep a mean*^f, or, that it was all owing to the perverse use of human liberty, certain it is, that, borne away with the lust of gratifying this appetite, man, in a state of nature, soon ran into very violent excesses; and never thought he had sufficiently provided for his own being, till he had deprived his fellows of the free enjoyment of theirs. Hence, all those evils of mutual violence, rapine, and slaughter, which, in a state of nature, where all are equal, must needs be abundant. Because, tho' man, in this state, was not without a law, which exacted punishment on evil doers, yet, the administration of that law not being in common hands, but either in the person offended, who being a party would be apt to enforce the punishment to excess; or else in the hands of every one, as the offence was against all, and affected the good of each not immediately or directly, would be executed remissly. And very often, where both these executors of the law of nature were disposed, the one to be impartial, and the other not remiss in the administration of justice, they would yet want sufficient power to enforce it. Which together, would so much inflame the evils above mentioned, that they would soon become as general, and as intolerable, as the *Hobbeist* repre-

^f *Modum tenere nescia est. Augm. Scien.*

sents them in that state to be, were it not for the restraining principle of RELIGION, which kept men from running into the confusion necessarily consequent on the principle of inordinate self-love. But yet Religion could not operate with sufficient efficacy, for want, as we observed before, of a common Arbiter, who had impartiality fairly to apply the rule of right, and power to enforce its operations. So that these two PRINCIPLES were in endless jar; in which, Justice generally came by the worst. It was therefore found necessary to call in the CIVIL MAGISTRATE as the Ally of Religion, to turn the balance.

*Jura inventa metu injusti, fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.*

Thus was Society invented for a remedy against injustice; and a Magistrate, by mutual consent, appointed, to give a sanction “to that common measure, to which, reason teaches us, that creatures
“of the same rank and species, promiscuously born
“to the same advantages of nature and to use
“of the same faculties, have all an equal right.”
Where it is to be observed, that though society provides for all those conveniences and accommodations of a more elegant life, which man must have been content to have lived without, in a state of nature; yet it is more than probable that these were never thought of when Society was first established^b; but that they were the mutual violences and injustices,

^a Locke.

^b Though the judicious Hooker thinks those advantages were principally intended, when man first entered into society: *this was the cause, says he, of mens uniting themselves at first into politique societies. Eccl. Pol. l. i. § 10.* His master Aristotle, though extremely concise, seems to hint, that this was but the secondary end of civil society, and that That was the first, which we make to be so. His words are: *γινωσκάντων μὲν ἐν τῇ ζῆν ἑαυτοὺς, ὅσοι δὲ τῇ εὖ ζῆν. Pol. lib. i. cap. 2.*

at length become intolerable, which set men upon contriving this generous remedy: Because Evil felt hath a much stronger influence on the mind than Good imagined; and the means of removing the one is much easier discovered, than the way to procure the other. And this, by the wise disposition of the Creator; the avoiding pain being necessary to our nature; not so, the procuring pleasure. Besides, the idea of those unexperienced conveniencies would be, at best, very obscure: and how unable men would be, before trial, to judge that Society would bestow them, we may guess by observing, how little, even now, the generality of men, who enjoy these blessings, know or reflect that they are owing to society, or how it procures them; because it doth it neither immediately nor directly. But they would have a very lively sense of evils felt; and could see that Society was the remedy, because the very definition of the word would teach them how it becomes so. Yet because *civil Society* so greatly improves human life, this improvement may be called, and not unaptly, the *secondary end* of that Convention. Thus, as *Aristotle* accurately observes in the words below, that which was at first constituted for the sake of *living*, is carried on for the sake of *happy living*.

This is further seen from fact. For we find those savage nationsⁱ, which happen to live peaceably out of society, have never once entertained a thought of coming into it, though they perceive all the advantages of that improved condition, in their civilized neighbours, round about them.

Civil Society thus established, from this time, as the poet sings,

ⁱ See § V. iv. 2. where it is shewn, how it might happen that men, in a state of nature, might live together in peace: though we have there given the reasons why they very rarely do.

absistere bello,
Oppida cæperunt munire, & ponere leges,
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

But as before bare RELIGION was no preservative against moral disorders; so now, SOCIETY alone, would be equally unable to prevent them.

I. 1. For *first*, its laws can have no further efficacy than to restrain men from open transgression; while what is done amiss in private, though equally tending to the public hurt, escapes their animadversion; and man, since his entering into Society, would have greatly improved his practice in this secret way of mischief. For now an effectual security being provided against *open violence*, and the inordinate principle of self-love being still the same, *secret craft* was the art to be improved; and the guards of Society inviting men to a careless security, what advantages this would afford to those hidden mischiefs which civil laws could not censure, is easy to conceive.

2. But, *secondly*, the influence of civil Laws cannot, in all cases, be extended even thus far, namely, to restrain *open* transgression. It cannot *then*, when the severe prohibition of one irregularity threatens the bringing on a greater: and this will always be the case when the irregularity is owing to the violence of the sensual appetites. Hence it hath come to pass, that no great and opulent Community could ever punish *fornication*, in such a sort as its ill influence on Society was confessed to deserve: because it was always found, that a severe restraint of this, opened the way to more flagitious lusts.

3. The very attention of civil Laws to their principal object occasions a further inefficacy in their operations. To understand this we must consider, that the care of the State is for the WHOLE, under which *individuals* are considered but in the second place, as
accessaries

accessaries only to that *whole*; the consequence of which is, that, for the sake of the Aggregate, individuals are sometimes left neglected; which happens when *general*, rather than *particular* views ingross the public attention. Now the care of *Religion* is for PARTICULARS; and a *Whole* has but the second place in its concern. But this is only touched upon to shew, in passing, the natural remedy for the defects here explained.

4. But this was not all, there was a further inefficacy in human Laws: the Legislature, in enquiring into the mutual duties of Citizens, arising from their equality of condition, found those duties to be of two kinds: the first, they intitled the duties of PERFECT OBLIGATION; because civil Laws could readily, and commodiously, and were, of necessity, required to enforce their observance. The other they called the duties of IMPERFECT OBLIGATION; not, that morality does not as strongly exact them, but because, civil Laws could not conveniently take notice of them; and, that they were supposed not so immediately and vitally to affect the being of Society. Of this latter kind are *gratitude, hospitality, charity, &c.* concerning such, civil Laws, for these reasons, are generally silent. And yet, tho' it may be true, that these duties, which human Laws thus overlook, may not so directly affect Society, it is very certain, that their violation brings on as fatal, though not so swift destruction, as that of the duties of *perfect obligation*. A very competent judge, and who also speaks the sentiment of Antiquity in this matter, hath not scrupled to say:
 “ Ut scias per se expetendam esse *grati animi adfectionem*, per se fugienda res est *ingratum* esse:
 “ quoniam nihil æque concordiam humani generis
 “ dissociat ac distrahit quam hoc vitium^k.”

^k Seneca de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 18.

5. But still further, besides these duties both of *perfect* and *imperfect* obligation, for the encouraging and enforcing of which, civil Society was invented; Society itself begot and produced a *new set of duties*, which are, to speak in the mode of the Legislature, of *imperfect obligation*: the first and principal of which is that antiquated forgotten virtue called the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

6. But *lastly*, Society not only introduced a new set of duties, but likewise increased and inflamed, to an infinite degree, those inordinate appetites, for whose correction it was invented and introduced: like some kind of powerful medicines, which, at the very time they are working a cure, heighten the malignity of the disease. For our wants increase, in proportion as the arts of life advance. But in proportion to our wants, so is our uneasiness;—to our uneasiness, so our endeavours to remove it—to our endeavours, so the weakness of *human restraint*. Hence it is evident, that in a STATE OF NATURE, where little is consulted but the support of our being, our wants must be few, and our appetites, in proportion, weak; and that in CIVIL SOCIETY, where the arts of life are cultivated, our wants must be many, and our appetites, in proportion, strong.

II. Thus far concerning the imperfection of civil Society, with regard to the administration of that power which it hath, namely of *punishing* Transgressors. We shall next consider its much greater imperfection with regard to that power which it wanteth; namely of *rewarding* the Obedient.

The two great sanctions of all Law and Command are REWARD and PUNISHMENT. These are generally called the two hinges, on which all kinds of Government turn. And so far is certain, and apparent to the common sense of mankind, that whatever laws are not enforced by both these sanctions, will never be observed in any degree sufficient to carry on the ends of civil Society.

Yet, I shall now shew, from the original constitution and nature of this Society, that, it neither had, nor could enforce, the SANCTION OF REWARD.

But, to avoid mistakes, I desire it may be observed, that by *reward*, must needs here be meant, *such as is conferred on every one for obeying the laws of his country*; not such as is bestowed on particulars, for any eminent service: as by *punishment* we understand *that which is inflicted on every one for transgressing the laws*; not *that* which is imposed on particulars, for neglecting to do all the service in their power.

I make no doubt but this will be called a paradox; nothing being more common in the mouths of politicians¹, than *that the sanctions of reward and punishment are the two pillars of civil government*; and all the modern *Utopias* and ancient systems of speculative politics derive the whole vigour of their laws from these two sources. In support then of my assertion, permit me to enforce the two following propositions:

I. That, by the *original constitution* of civil Government, the sanction of rewards *was not* established by it.

II. That by the very *nature* of civil Government they *could not* be established.

I. The truth of the first proposition appears from hence. On entering into Society, it was stipulated, between the Magistrate and People, that *protection* and *obedience* should be the reciprocal conditions of each other. When, therefore, a citizen obeys the laws, that debt on Society is discharged by the protection it affordeth him. But, in respect to disobedience, the proceeding is not analogous; (though

¹ Neque solum ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui & sapientissimus fuit ex septem, & legum scriptor solus ex septem. Is rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, præmio & pœnâ. Cic. ad Brutum, Ep. 15.

protection, as the condition of obedience, implies the withdrawing of it, for disobedience;) and for these reasons: The effect of withdrawing protection must be either expulsion from the Society, or the exposing the offender to all kind of licence, from others, in it. Society could not practise the first, without bringing the body politic into a consumption; nor the latter without throwing it into convulsions. Besides, the first is no punishment at all, but by accident; it being only the leaving one Society to enter into another: and the second is a very inadequate punishment; for though all obedience be the same, and so, *uniform protection* a proper return for it; yet disobedience being of various kinds and degrees, the withdrawing protection, in this latter sense, would be too great a punishment for some crimes, and too small for others.

This being the case, it was stipulated that the transgressor should be subject to pecuniary mulcts, corporal infliction, mutilation of members, and capital severities. Hence arose the Sanction, and the *only sanction* of civil Laws: for, that protection is no reward, in the sense which these are punishments, is plain from hence, that the one is of the essence of Society itself; the other an occasional adjunct. But this will further appear by considering the opposite to protection, which is *expulsion*, or banishment; for this is the *natural* consequence of withdrawing protection. Now this, as we said, is no punishment but by accident: and so the State understood it; as we may collect, even from their manner of employing it *as a punishment* on offenders: for banishment is of universal use, with other punishments, in all societies. Now where withdrawing protection is inflicted as a punishment, the practice of all States hath been to retain their right to obedience from the banished member; though, according to the nature of the thing, considered alone, that right be really

discharged; obedience and protection, as we observed, being reciprocal. But it was necessary all states should act in this manner when they inflicted exile as a punishment; it being no punishment but by accident, when the claim to subjection was remitted with it. They had a *right* to act thus; because it was inflicted on an *offender*; who by his very offence had forfeited all claim of advantage from that *reciprocal condition*.

II. The second proposition is, that by the nature of civil government, *the sanction of rewards could not be enforced by it*: My reason is, because Society could neither distinguish the objects of its favour; nor reward them, though they were distinguished.

I. First, *Society could not distinguish the objects of its favour*. To inflict punishment, there is no need of knowing the *motives* of the offender; but judicially to confer reward on the obedient, there is.

All that civil judicatures do in punishing is to find whether the act was *wilfully* committed. They enquire not into the intention or motives any further, or otherwise than as they are the marks of a *voluntary act*: and having found it so, they concern themselves no more with the man's motives or principles of acting; but punish, without scruple, in confidence of the offender's demerit. And this with very good reason; because no one of a sound mind, can be ignorant of the principal offences against right, or of the malignity of those offences, but by some sottish negligence which hath hindered his information; or some brutal passion which hath prejudiced his judgment; both which are highly faulty, and deserve civil punishment.

It is otherwise in rewarding abstinence from transgression. Here the motive must be considered: because as *merely doing ill*, i. e. without any *particular* bad motive, deserves punishment, a crime in the case of wrong judgment being ever necessarily inferred;

ferred; so *merely abstaining from ill*, i. e. without any *particular* good motive, cannot, for that very reason, have any merit.

In *judicially rewarding*, therefore, the *motives* must be known; but human judicatures cannot know them but by accident: it is only that tribunal, which searches the heart, that can penetrate thus far. We conclude, therefore, *that reward cannot, properly, be the sanction of human laws.*

If it should be said, that though rewards cannot be equitably administered, as punishments may, yet, nothing hinders but that, for the good of Society, all who observe the laws should be rewarded, as all who transgress the laws are punished? The answer will lead us to the proof of the second part of this proposition.

2. That *Society could not reward, though it should discover the objects of its favour*; the reason is, because no Society can ever find a fund sufficient for that purpose, without raising it on the people as a tax, to pay it back to them as a reward.

But the universal practice of Society confirms this reasoning, and is explained by it; the sanction of *punishments* only having, in all ages and places, been employed to secure the observance of civil laws. This was so remarkable a fact, that it could not escape the notice of a certain admirable Wit and studious observer of men and manners; who speaks of it as an universal defect: *Although we usually (says he) call reward and punishment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation except that of Lilliput^m.* Thus he introduceth an account of the laws and customs of an *Utopian* Constitution of his own framing; and, for that matter, as good, perhaps, as any of the rest: and, had he in-

^m *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. i. p. 97.

tended it as a satire against such chimerical Commonwealths, nothing could have been more just. For all these political romancers, from *Plato* to this Author, make civil rewards and punishments *the two hinges of government*.

I have often wondered what it was, that could lead them from fact, and universal practice, in so fundamental a point. But without doubt it was this, The design of such sort of writings is to give a perfect pattern of civil Government; and to supply the fancied defects in real Societies. The end of government coming first under consideration; and the general practice of Society seeming to declare this end to be only, what in truth it is, *security to our temporal liberty and property*; the simplicity of it displeased, and the plan appeared defective. They imagined, that, by enlarging the bottom, they should ennoble the structure; and, therefore, formed a romantic project of making civil Society serve for all the good purposes it was even accidentally capable of producing. And thus, instead of giving us a true picture of civil Government, they jumbled together all sorts of Societies into one; and confounded the *religious*, the *literary*, the *mercantile*, the *convivial*, with the *civil*. Whoever reads them carefully, if indeed they be worth reading carefully, will find that the errors they abound in are all of this nature; and that they arise from the losing, or never having had, a true idea of the simple plan of civil Government: a circumstance which, as we have shewn elsewhereⁿ, hath occasioned many wrong judgments concerning it. No wonder, then, that this mistake concerning the *end* of civil Society, drew after it others, concerning the *means*; and this, amongst the rest, that *reward was one of the sanctions of human laws*.

ⁿ See *The Alliance between Church and State*.

On the whole then, it appears, that civil Society hath not, in itself, the *Sanction of rewards*, to secure the observance of its laws. So true, in this sense likewise, is the observation of *St. Paul*, that THE LAW WAS NOT MADE FOR THE RIGHTEOUS, BUT FOR THE UNRULY AND DISOBEDIENT.

But it being evident, that the joint sanctions of rewards and punishments are but just sufficient to secure the tolerable observance of Right (the mistaken opinion, that these are the two hinges of government, arising from that evidence) it follows, that, AS RELIGION ONLY CAN SUPPLY THE SANCTION OF REWARDS, WHICH SOCIETY NEEDS, AND HATH NOT; RELIGION IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Thus, on the whole we see, I. That Society, by its own proper power, cannot provide for the observance of above one third part of moral duties; and of that third, but imperfectly. We see likewise, how, by the peculiar influence of its nature, it enlarges the duty of the Citizen, at the same time that it lessens his natural ability to perform it.

II. We see, which is a thing of far greater consequence, that Society totally wants one of those two sanctions which are owned by all to be the necessary hinges on which government turns, and without which it cannot be supported.

To supply these wants and imperfections, some other coactive power must be added, (which hath its influence on the mind of man) to keep society from running back into confusion. But there is no other than the power of RELIGION; which, teaching an over-ruling Providence, the Rewarder of good men, and the Punisher of ill, can oblige to the duties of *imperfect obligation*, which human laws overlook: and teaching also, that this Providence is omniscient, that it sees the most secret actions and intentions of men, and hath given laws for the perfecting their nature,

nature, will oblige to those duties of *perfect obligation*, which human laws cannot reach, or sufficiently enforce.

Thus have we explained in general, the mutual aid, *religion* and *civil policy* lend to one another: not unlike that which two Allies, in the same quarrel, may reciprocally receive against a common enemy: While one party is closely pressed, the other comes up to its relief; disengages the first; gives it time to rally, and repair its force: By this time the assisting party is pushed in its turn, and needs the aid of that which it relieved; which is now at hand to repay the obligation. From henceforth the two parties act in conjunction; and, by that means, keep the common enemy at a stand.

Having thus proved the service of Religion in general, to Society; and shewn after what manner it is performed, we are enabled to proceed to the proof of the proposition in question: For by what hath been said, it appears that Religion doth this service solely, *as it teacheth a Providence, the rewarder of good men, and the punisher of evil*: so that although it were possible, as I think it is not^o, that there could be such a thing as a Religion not founded on the doctrine of a Providence; yet, it is evident, such a Religion would be of no manner of use to Society. Whatsoever therefore is necessary for the support of this doctrine is mediately necessary for the well-being of Society. Now the doctrine of A FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments is absolutely and indispensably necessary for the support of the general doctrine of providence, under its present dispensations in this life; as we shall now shew.

^o St. Paul supposes there can no more be a Religion without a Providence, than without a God: *He that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.*

Religion establishing a Providence, the rewarder of virtue, and the punisher of vice, men naturally expect to find the constant and univocal marks of such an administration. But the history of mankind, nay even of every one's own neighbourhood, would soon inform the most indiligent observer, that the affairs of men wear a face of great irregularity: the scene, that ever and anon presents itself, being of distressed virtue, and prosperous wickedness; which unavoidably brings the embarrassed Religionist to the necessity of giving up his belief, or finding out the solution of these untoward appearances. His first reflexion might perhaps be with the poet^P;

omnia rebar
 Consilio firmata Dei; qui lege moveri
 Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci, —
 Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
 Adspicerem, lætosque diu florere nocentes,
 Vexarique pios, rursus LABEFACATA CADEBAT
 RELIGIO.

But, on second thoughts, Reason, that, from the admirable frame and harmony of the material universe, taught him that there must needs be a superintending Providence, to influence that order which all its parts preserve, for the sake of the Whole, in their continued revolutions, would soon instruct him in the absurdity of supposing, that the same care did not extend to Man, a creature of a far nobler nature than the most considerable of inanimate beings. And therefore human affairs not being dispensed, at present, agreeably to that superintendence, he must conclude, that Man shall exist after death, and be brought to a future reckoning in another life, where all accounts will be set even, and all the present obscurities and perplexities in the ways

^P Claud.

of Providence unfolded and explained. From hence Religion acquires resistless force and splendor; and rises on a solid and unshaken basis⁹.

Now this doctrine of a FUTURE STATE being the only support of Religion under the present and ordinary dispensations of providence, we conclude (which was what we had to prove) that the *inculcating this doctrine is NECESSARY to the well-being of Society.*

That it was the general sentiment of mankind, we shall see hereafter; where it will be shewn, that there never was, in any time or place, a civilized People (the *jerish* only excepted) who did not found their Religion on this doctrine, as being conscious it could not be sustained without it. And as for the necessity of Religion itself to Society, the very enemies of all Religion are the loudest to confess it: For, from this apparent truth, the Atheist of old formed his famous argument against the divine origin of Religion; which makes so great a figure in the common systems of infidelity. Here then, even on our adversary's confession, we might rest our cause; but that we find (so inconstant and perverse is irreligion) some modern Apologists for Atheism have abandoned the system of their predecessors, and chosen rather to give up an

⁹ Hear an unexceptionable evidence to this whole matter; Et quidem (says the free-thinking Lord Herbert) præmium bonis, & supplicium malis, vel hac in vita, vel post hanc vitam dari, statuebant Gentiles. — Nihil mage congruum naturæ divinæ esse docuerant, tum philosophorum tum theologorum Gentilium præcipuorum scholæ, quam ut bona bonis, mala malis remitteretur Deus. Cæterum quum id quoque cernerent, quemadmodum viri boni calamitatibus miserisque oppressi heic jacerent; mali improbique e contra lautitiis omnibus affluerent; certissimis ex justitia bonitateque divina argumentis deductis, bonis post hanc vitam præmium condignum, malis pœnam dari credebant: SECUS ENIM SI ESSET, NULLAM NEQUE JUSTITIÆ NEQUE BONITATIS DIVINÆ RATIONEM CONSTARE POSSE. *De religione Gentilium, cap. Præmium vel pœna.*

argument

argument against the divine original of religion, than acknowledge the civil use of it: which with much frankness and confidence they have adventured to deny.

These therefore having endeavoured to cut away the very ground we stand upon, in proof of our proposition, it will be proper to examine their pretensions.

S E C T. III.

THE three great Advocates for this paradox are commonly reckoned POMPONATIUS, CARDAN, and BAYLE; who are put together, without distinction: whereas nothing is more certain than that, although *Cardan* and *Bayle* indeed defended it, *Pomponatius* was of a very different opinion: but *Bayle* had entered him into this service; and so great is *Bayle's* authority, that nobody perceived the delusion. It will be but justice then to give *Pomponatius* a fair hearing, and let him speak for himself.

This learned *Italian*, a famous Peripatetic of the fifteenth century, wrote a treatise^r to prove that, on the principles of *Aristotle*, it could not be proved that the soul was immortal: But the doctrine of the mortality of the soul being generally thought to have very pernicious consequences, he conceived it lay upon him to say something to that objection. In his xiiith chapter, therefore,

^r *De Immortalitate Animæ*, printed in 12^mº An. 1534. It is of him chiefly that the celebrated *Melchior Canus* seems to speak, in the following words: “Audivimus Italos quosdam, qui suis
“ & *Aristoteli* & *Averroï* tantum temporis dant, quantum sacris
“ literis ii, qui maximè sacra doctrina delectantur; tantum vero
“ fidei, quantum *Apostolis* & *Evangelistis* ii qui maximè sunt in
“ *Christi* doctrinam religiosi. Ex quo nata sunt in Italia pesti-
“ fera illa dogmata de mortalitate animi, & divina circa res hu-
“ manas improvidentia, si verum est quod dicitur.” *De Arist.*
disput. l. x. De locis, c. 5.

he enumerates those consequences ; and in the xivth, gives distinct answers to each of them. That which supposeth his doctrine to affect society, is expressed in these words : “ *Obj. 2.* In the second
 “ place, a man persuaded of the mortality of the
 “ soul ought in no case, even in the most urgent,
 “ to prefer death to life : And so, fortitude, which
 “ teaches us to despise death, and, when our
 “ country, or the public good requires, even
 “ to chuse it, would be no more. Nor on such
 “ principles should we hazard life for a friend : on
 “ the contrary, we should commit any wicked-
 “ nefs rather than undergo the loss of it : which is
 “ contrary to what *Aristotle* teacheth in his *Ethics*’.”
 His reply to this, in the following chapter, is, that
*virtue requires we should die for our country or our
 friends ; and that virtue is never so perfect as when
 it brings no dower with it* : But then he subjoins,
 “ Philosophers, and the learned, only know
 “ what pleasures the practice of virtue can pro-
 “ cure ; and what misery attends ignorance and
 “ vice ;—but men not understanding the excel-
 “ lence of virtue, and deformity of vice, would
 “ commit any wickedness rather than submit to
 “ death : To bridle therefore their unruly appe-
 “ tites, they were taught to be influenced by hope of
 “ reward, and fear of punishment’.”—This is

• *Secundò, quia stante animi humani mortalitate, homo in pullo casu, quantumcunque urgentissimo, deberet eligere mortem : & sic removeretur fortitudo, quæ præcipit contemnere mortem, & quod pro patria & bono publico debemus mortem eligere : neque pro amico deberemus exponere animam nostram ; imo quodcunque scelus & nefas perpetrare magis quam mortem subire : quod est contra Arist. 3 Ethic. & 9 ejusdem. P. 99.*

• *Soli enim philosophi & studiosi, ut dicit Arist. 6 Ethic. sciunt quantam delectationem generent virtutes, & quantam miseriam ignorantia & vitia.—Sed quod homines non cognoscentes excellentiam virtutis & foeditatem vitii, omne scelus perpetrarent, priusquam mori : quare ad refrænandum diras hominum cupiditates, data est spes præmii & timor punitionis. P. 119.*

enough

enough to shew what *Pomponatius* thought of the necessity of Religion to the State. He gives up so much of the objection as urges the ill consequence of the doctrine of the mortality to mankind in general; but in so doing hath not betrayed the cause he undertook: which was to prove that the belief of the mortality of the soul would have no ill influence on the practice of a learned Peripatetic: he pretends not that it would have no evil influence on the gross body of mankind to the prejudice of Society. This appears from the nature and design of the treatise; written entirely on peripatetic principles, to explain a point in that philosophy: by the force of which explanation, whoever was persuaded of the mortality of the soul, must give his assent on those principles; principles only fitted to influence learned men. It was his business therefore to examine, what effects this belief would have on such, and on such only. And this, it must be owned, he hath done with dexterity enough. But that this belief would be most pernicious to the body of mankind in general, he confesses with all ingenuity. And as his own words are the fullest proof that he thought with the rest of the world, concerning the influence of Religion, and particularly of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, on Society, I shall beg leave to transcribe them at large. “ There
“ are some men of so ingenuous and well framed a
“ nature, that they are brought to the practice of
“ virtue from the sole consideration of its dignity;
“ and are kept from vice on the bare prospect of its
“ baseness: but such excellent persons are very rare.
“ Others there are of a somewhat less heroic turn of
“ mind; and these, besides the dignity of virtue,
“ and the baseness of vice, are worked upon by
“ fame and honours, by infamy and disgrace, to
“ shun

“ shun evil and persevere in good: These are of the
“ second class of men. Others again are kept in
“ order by the hope of some real benefit, or the
“ dread of corporal punishment; wherefore that
“ such may follow virtue, the Politician hath con-
“ trived to allure them by dignities, possessions, and
“ things of the like nature; inflicting mulcts, de-
“ gradations, mutilations, and capital punishments,
“ to deter them from wickedness. There are yet
“ others of so intractable and perverse a spirit, that
“ nothing even of this can move them, as daily
“ experience shews; for these, therefore, it was,
“ that the Politician invented *the doctrine of a future*
“ *state*; where eternal rewards are reserved for the
“ virtuous, and eternal punishments, which have
“ the more powerful influence of the two, for the
“ wicked. For the greater part of those who live
“ well, do so, rather for fear of the punishment,
“ than out of appetite to the reward: for misery is
“ better known to man, than that immeasurable
“ good which Religion promiseth: And therefore
“ as this last contrivance may be directed to promote
“ the welfare of men of all conditions and degrees,
“ the Legislator, intent on public good, and seeing
“ a general propensity to evil, established the do-
“ ctrine of the IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.
“ Little solicitous for *truth*, in all this, but intent
“ only on *utility*, that he might draw mankind to
“ virtue. Nor is he to be blamed: for as the phy-
“ sician deceives his patient in order to restore his
“ health, so the lawgiver invents apologues to form
“ the manners of his people. Indeed were all of
“ that noble turn of mind with those enumerated
“ under the first class, then would they all, even on
“ the supposition of the soul's mortality, exactly
“ perform their mutual duties to one another. *But*
“ *as there are, upon the matter, none of this disposi-*
“ *tion,*

“tion, he must, of necessity, have recourse to arts”,
 “more fitted to the general disposition.”

After all this, it is surprizing that Mr. Bayle should so far mistake this book, as to imagine the author argues in it *against the usefulness of religion to society*: especially, when we consider that Mr. Bayle appears to have examined the book so nearly as to be able to confute a common error concerning it, namely, *that it was wrote to prove the mortality of the soul*: Whereas he shews, that it was wrote only to prove, that, on the principles of *Aristotle*, neither that, nor the contrary, could be demonstrated. But let us hear him: “That which *Pomponatius*

“ Aliqui sunt homines ingenui, & bene institutæ naturæ, adeo quod ad virtutem inducuntur ex sola virtutis nobilitate, & a vitio retrahuntur ex sola ejus sceditate: & hi optimè dispositi sunt, licet perpauci sunt. Aliqui vero sunt minus bene dispositi; & hi præter nobilitatem virtutis, & sceditatem vitii, ex præmiis, laudibus, & honoribus; ex pœnis, vituperiis, & infamia, studiosa operantur, & vitia fugiunt; & hi in secundo gradu sunt. Aliqui vero propter spem alicujus boni, & timore pœnæ corporalis studiosi efficiuntur: quare, ut tales virtutem consequantur, statuunt politici vel aurum, vel dignitatem, vel aliquid tale; ut vitia vero fugiant, statuunt vel in pecunia, vel in honore, vel in corpore, seu mutilando membrum, seu occidendo puniri. Quidam vero ex ferocitate & perversitate naturæ, nullo horum moventur, ut quotidiana docet experientia; ideo posuerunt virtuosus in alia vita præmia æterna, vitiosis vero æterna damna, quæ maxime terrent: majorque pars hominum, si bonum operatur, magis ex metu æterni damni quam spe æterni boni operatur bonum, cum damna sunt magis nobis cognita quam illa bona æterna: & quoniam hoc ultimum ingenium omnibus hominibus potest prodesse, cujuscunque gradus sint, respiciens legislator pronitatem viarum ad malum, intendens communi bono, sanxit animam esse immortalem, non curans de veritate, sed tantum de probitate, ut inducat homines ad virtutem. Neque accusandus est politicus: sicut namque medicus multa fingit, ut ægro sanitatem restituat; sic politicus apologos format, ut cives rectificet.—Si omnes homines essent in illo primo gradu enumerato, stante etiam animorum mortalitate, studiosi fierent; sed quasi nulli sunt illius dispositionis; quare aliis ingeniis incedere necesse fuit.—Pag. 123, 124, 125.

“hath replied to the reasoning borrowed from
 “hence, that the doctrine of the mortality of the
 “soul would invite men to all sort of crimes, de-
 “serves to be considered*.” And then he produces
 those arguments of *Pomponatius*, which we have
 given above, of *the natural excellence of virtue, and*
deformity of vice; that happiness consists in the prac-
tice of the one, and misery in that of the other, &c.
 These he calls *poor solutions*: Indeed *poor* enough,
 had it been, as Mr. Bayle supposes, *Pomponatius’s*
 design to prove that the doctrine of the *mortality* of
 the soul did not invite the generality of men to wick-
 edness: for the account given by *Pomponatius* him-
 self of the origin of the contrary doctrine, shews,
 that, but for this, they would have run headlong
 into vice. But supposing the Peripatetic’s design to
 be, as indeed it was, to prove that the doctrine of the
mortality would have no ill influence on the learned
 followers of *Aristotle*, then these arguments, which
 Mr. Bayle calls *poor ones*, will be found to have
 their weight. But he goes on, and tells us, *that*
Pomponatius brings a better argument from fact,
where he takes notice of several, who denied the im-
mortality of the soul, and yet lived as well as their be-
lieving neighbours. This is indeed a good argument
 to the purpose, for which it is employed by *Pompo-*
natius; but whether it be so to that, for which, Mr.
Bayle imagined, he employed it, shall be considered
 hereafter, when we come to meet with it again in
 this later writer’s apology for atheism. But Mr.
Bayle was so full of his own *favourite question*, that
 he did not give due attention to *Pomponatius’s*; and
 having, as I observed above, refuted a vulgar error
 with regard to this famous tract, and imagining that

* Ce que Pomponace a repondu à la raison empruntée de ce
 que le dogme de la mortalité de l’ame porteroit les hommes à
 toutes sortes de crimes, est digne de consideration. *Diæ. Hist.*
 & *Crit. Art.* (Pomponace) Rem. (H.)

the impiety, so generally charged on it, was solely founded in that error, he goes on insulting the enemies of *Pomponatius* in this manner: “ If the charge
 “ of impiety, of which *Pomponatius* hath been ac-
 “ cused, was only founded on his book *of the im-*
 “ *mortality of the soul*, we must needs say there was
 “ never any accusation more impertinent or a strong-
 “ er instance of the iniquitous perversity of the per-
 “ secutors of the philosophers^w.” But *Pompona-*
tius will not be so easily set clear: For let him think
 as he would concerning the soul, yet the account he
 gives of the origin of Religion, as the contrivance
 of statesmen, here produced, from this very tract *De*
immortalitate animæ, is so highly impious, that his
 enemies will be hardly persuaded to give it a softer
 name than downright atheism. Nor is it impiety
 in general, of which, we endeavour to acquit him,
 but only that species of it, which teaches *that Reli-*
gion is useless to Society. And this we think we have
 done; although it be by shewing him to have run
 into the opposite extreme, which would insinuate
 that it was *the creature of politicks*.

Cardan comes next to be considered: and him no
 body hath injured. He, too, is under *Bayle's* delu-
 sion, concerning *Pomponatius*: For, writing on the
 same subject^x, he borrows the Peripatetic's argu-
 ments to prove that *Religion was even pernicious to So-*
ciety. This was so bold a stroke, that Mr. *Bayle*, who
 generally follows him pretty closely, drops him here:
 Nor do I know that he ever had a second, except
 it was the unhappy philosopher of *Malmshury*; who
 scorning to argue upon the matter, imperiously pro-
 nounced, that he who presumed to propagate Reli-

^w Si l'on n'a fondé les impietez, dont on l'accuse, que sur son
 livre *de l'immortalité de l'ame*, il n'y eut jamais d'accusation plus
 impertinente, que celle-la, ni qui soit une marque plus expresse
 de l'entetement inique des persecuteurs des philosophes.

^x *De immortalitate animorum liber*, Lugd. ap. Gryph. 1545.

gion in a Society, without leave of the Magistrate, was guilty of the crime of *Lese Majesty*, as introducing a power superior to the *Leviathan's*. But it would be unpardonable to keep the reader much longer on this poor lunatic *Italian*, in whom, as Mr. Bayle pleasantly observes, *sense was, at best, but an appendix to his folly*^r. Besides, there is little in that tract, but what he stole from *Pomponatius*; the strength of which, to support *Cardan's* paradox, hath been considered already; or what Mr. Bayle hath borrowed from him; the force of which shall be considered hereafter: But that little is so peculiarly his own, that as no other can claim the property, so no one hath hitherto usurped the use. Which yet, however, is remarkable: for there is no trash so worthless, but what some time or other finds a place in a Free-thinker's system. We will not despair then but that this paltry rubbish may one day or other have an honourable station in some of these fashionable fabricks. And, not to hinder its speedy preferment, I shall here give it the reader in its full force, without answer or reply. He brings the following argument to prove that the doctrine of the *immortality* of the soul is even destructive to society:—

^r The charming picture he draws of himself, and which he excuses no otherwise than by laying the fault on his STARS, will hardly prejudice any one in favour of his opinions. How far it resembles any other of the brotherhood, they best know, who have examined the genius of modern infidelity. However thus he speaks of his own amiable turn of Mind: “In diem
 “viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, injuriæ illatæ
 “memorem, invidum, trilem, insidiatorem, proditorem, ma-
 “gum, incantatorem, suorum osorem, turpi libidini deditum,
 “solitarium, inamœnum, austerum; sponte etiam divinantem,
 “zelotypum, obscœnum, lascivum, maledicum, varium, anci-
 “pitum, impurum, calumniatorem, &c.” We have had many *Free-thinkers*, but few such *Free-speakers*. But though these sort of writers are not used to give us so *direct* a picture of themselves, yet it hath been observed, that they have unawares copied from their own tempers, in the ungracious drawings they have made of HUMAN NATURE and RELIGION.

“ From this flattering notion of a FUTURE STATE,
 “ ill men get opportunity to compass their wicked
 “ designs : and, on the same account, good men suf-
 “ fer themselves to be injuriously treated. Civil
 “ Laws, relying on this fanciful assistance, relax their
 “ necessary severity ; and *thus* is the opinion produc-
 “ tive of much mischief to mankind ^z.” And then,
 by another argument as good, he shews the benefits
 accruing to the state from the belief of the soul’s
mortality : “ Those who maintain that the soul dies
 “ with the body, must needs be, by their principles,
 “ honest men than others, because they have a pe-
 “ culiar interest in preserving their reputation ; this
 “ being the only future property they pretend to :
 “ And the Profession of the Soul’s mortality being
 “ generally esteemed as scandalous as that of usury,
 “ such men will be most exact and scrupulous in
 “ point of honour, as your usurer, to keep up the
 “ credit of his calling, is of all men the most reli-
 “ gious observer of his word ^a.”

S E C T. IV.

MR. BAYLE, the last supporter of this paradox,
 is of a very different character from these
Italian Sophists : A writer, who, to the utmost
 strength and clearness of reasoning, hath added all
 the liveliness, and delicacy of wit : who pervading
 human nature at his ease, struck into the province
 of PARADOX, as an exercise for the unwearied vi-
 gour of his mind : who, with a soul superior to the
 sharpest attacks of fortune, and a heart practised to
 the best philosophy, had not yet enough of real
 greatness, to overcome that last foible of superior
 minds, the temptation of honour, which the ACA-

^z *De immortalitate animorum*, cap. ii.
 ejusd. tract.

^a Cap. xxxiii.

DEMIC EXERCISE OF WIT is conceived to bring to its professors.

A writer of this character will deserve a particular regard : For *paradoxes*, which in the hands of a *Toland* or a *Tindal* end in rank offensive impiety, will, under the management of a *BAYLE*, always afford something for use or curiosity : Thus, in the very work we are about to examine^b, the many admirable observations on the nature and genius of polytheism, happen to be a full answer to all which the Author of *Christianity as old as the creation* hath advanced against the use of revelation. For a skilful chemist, though disappointed in his *grand magisterium*, yet often discovers, by the way, some useful and noble medicament ; while the ignorant pretender to the art, not only loses his labour, but fills all about him with the poisonous steams of *sublimate*.

The *professed* design of Mr. Bayle's work is to enquire, *which is least hurtful to mankind, ancient idolatry, or modern atheism* : And had he confined himself to that subject, we had had no concern with him, but should have left him in the hands of Messrs. *Jacquelot* and *Bernard*. I freely own they are both stark naught : All the difference is, that Atheism directly excludes and destroys the *true* sense of moral right and wrong ; and Polytheism sets up a *false* species of it.

But the more particular, though less avowed, purpose of this elaborate treatise is to prove, that *Atheism is not destructive of Society* ; and here he falls under our notice ; no distinct answer, that I know of, having been yet attempted to this part of his performance.

^b *Pensées diverses*, écrites à un docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la comete qui parut au Mois de Decembre, 1680. &—Continuation des *Pensées diverses*, &c. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez, &c.

His arguments in support of this Paradox, are occasionally, and so without any method, interspersed throughout that large work : But, to give them all the advantage they are capable of, I have here collected and disposed them in such order, that they mutually support, and come in to the aid of one another.

It had been generally esteemed a proof of the destructive nature of Atheism to Society, that *this principle excludes the knowledge of moral good and evil*; such knowledge being, as will be seen, posterior to the knowledge of a God. His first argument therefore for the *innocence of atheism* is,

I. “ That an Atheist may have an idea of the
 “ moral difference between good and evil, because
 “ Atheists, as well as Theists, may comprehend the
 “ first principles of morals and metaphysics, from
 “ which this difference may be deduced. And in
 “ fact (he says) both the *Epicurean* atheist, who de-
 “ nied the providence of God, and the *Stratonic*
 “ atheist, who denied his Being, had this idea^c.”

This often repeated argument is so loosely expressed, that it is capable of many meanings ; in some of which the assertion is true, but not to the purpose ; in others to the purpose, but not true. Therefore before any precise answer can be given to it, it will be necessary to trace up moral duty to its first principles. And though an enquiry of this sort should not prove the most amusing either to myself or my reader, it may be found however to deserve our pains. For a spirit of dispute and refinement hath so entangled and confounded all our conclusions on a subject, in itself, very clear and intel-

^c Voyez les Pensées diverses, cap. clxxviii. & suiv. & l'addition à ces Pensées, cap. iv. Réponse à la 10. & à la 13. objections, & la Continuation des Pens. div. cap. cxliii.

ligible, that I am persuaded, were MORALITY herself, of which the *ancients* made a Goddess, to appear in person amongst men, and be questioned concerning her birth, she would be tempted to answer as *Homer* does in *Lucian*, that her commentators had so learnedly embarrassed the dispute, that she was now as much at a loss as They to account for her original.

To proceed therefore with all possible brevity : Each animal hath its *instinct* implanted by nature to direct it to its greatest good. Amongst these, man hath his ; to which modern philosophers have given the name of

1. The MORAL SENSE : whereby we conceive and feel a pleasure in right, and a distaste and aversion to wrong, prior to all reflexion on their natures, or their consequences. This is the first inlet to the *adequate idea of morality* ; and, plainly, the most extensive of all ; the Atheist as well as Theist having it. When instinct had gone thus far,

2. The *reasoning faculty* improved upon its dictates : For, men led by reflexion to examine the foundation of this *moral sense*, soon discovered that there were real essential differences in the qualities of human actions, established by nature ; and, consequently, that the love and hatred excited by the *moral sense* were not capricious in their operations ; for, that in the essential properties of their objects there was a SPECIFIC DIFFERENCE. Reason having gone thus far, (and thus far too it might conduct the *Stratonic* atheist) it stopped ; and saw that something was still wanting whereon to establish the MORALITY, properly so called, OF ACTIONS, that is, an OBLIGATION on men to perform some, and to avoid others ; and that, to find this something, there was need of calling in other principles to its assistance : Because nothing can thus *oblige* but

3. A *superior will*: And such a *will* could not be found till the being and attributes of God were established; but was discovered with them.

Hence arose, and only from hence, a MORAL DIFFERENCE. From this time human actions became the subject of *obligation*, and not till now: For though INSTINCT felt a difference in actions; and REASON discovered that this difference was founded in the nature of things; yet it was WILL only which could make a compliance with that difference a DUTY.

On these three Principles therefore, namely *the moral sense, the essential difference in human actions, and the will of God*, is built the whole edifice of *practical morality*: Each of which hath its distinct motive to enforce it; Compliance with *the moral sense* exciting a pleasurable sensation; compliance with the *essential differences of things* promoting the order and harmony of the universe; and compliance with the *will of God* obtaining an abundant reward.

This, when attentively considered, can never fail of affecting us with the most lively sense of God's goodness to Mankind, who, graciously respecting the imbecillity of Man's *nature*, the slowness of his *reason*, and the violence of his *passions*, hath been pleased to afford three different excitements to the practice of Virtue; that men of all ranks, constitutions, and educations, might find their account in one or other of them; something that would hit their *palate*, satisfy their *reason*, or subdue their *will*. The first principle, which is the *moral sense*, would strongly operate on those, who, by the exact temperature and balance of the passions, were disengaged enough to feel the delicacy of it's charms; and have an elegance of mind to respect the nobleness of its dictates. The second, which is the *essential difference*, will have its weight with the Speculative,

lative, the abstract and profound reasoners, and on all those who excel in the knowledge of human nature. And the third, which resolves itself into the *will of God*, and takes in all the consequences of obedience and disobedience, is principally adapted to the great body of Mankind.

It may perhaps be objected, to what is here delivered, *that the true principle of morality should have the worthiest motive to enforce it: Whereas the Will of God is enforced by the view of rewards and punishments; on which motive, virtue hath the smallest merit.* This character of the true principle of morality is perfectly right; and agrees, we say, with the principle which we make to be the true: For the legitimate motive to virtue, on that principle, is *compliance with the Will of God*; a compliance which hath the highest degree of merit. But this not being found of sufficient power to take in the Generality, the consequences of compliance or non-compliance to this Will, as far as relates to rewards and punishments, were first drawn out to the people's view. In which they were dealt with as the teachers of mathematics treat their pupils; when, to engage them in a sublime demonstration, they explain to them the use and fertility of the theorem.

To these great purposes serve the THREE PRINCIPLES, while in conjunction: But now, as in the *civil* world and the affairs of men, our pleasure, in contemplating the wisdom and goodness of Providence, is often disturbed and checked by the view of some human perversity or folly which runs across that Dispensation; so it is here, in the *intellectual*. This admirable provision for the support of virtue hath been, in great measure, defeated by its pretended Advocates; who, in their eternal squabbles about the true foundation of morality, and the obligation to its practice, have sacrilegiously untwisted this THREEFOLD CORD; and each running away with

with the part he esteemed the strongest, hath affixed that to the throne of God, as the golden chain that is to unite and draw all unto it.

This man proposes to illustrate the doctrine of the MORAL SENSE ; and then the morality of actions is founded only in that *sense*: with him, metaphysics and logic, by which the *essential difference*, in human actions, is demonstrated, are nothing but *words, notions, visions ; the empty regions and shadows of philosophy*. The professors of them are *moon-blind wits*; and *Locke* himself is treated as a school-man^d. To talk of reward and punishment, consequent on the *will of a superior*, is to make the practice of virtue mercenary and servile ; from which, pure human nature is the most abhorrent.

Another undertakes to demonstrate THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES OF THINGS, and their natural fitness and unfitness to certain ends ; and then *morality* is solely founded on those differences ; and God and his Will have nothing to do in the matter. Then the Will of God cannot make any thing morally good and evil, just and unjust ; nor consequently be the cause of any obligation on moral Agents : because the essences and natures of things, which constitute actions good and evil, are independent on that Will ; which is forced to submit to their relations like weak Man's. And therefore, if there were no natural justice, that is, if the rational and intellectual nature were, of itself, undetermined and unobliged to any thing, and so destitute of *morality* properly so called, it were not possible that any thing should be made morally good or evil, obligatory or unlawful, or that any moral obligation should be begotten by any Will or positive command whatsoever.—And then our knowledge of moral good and evil is solely acquired by abstract reasoning: And to talk of its coming any other way

^d *Characteristics*, passim.

into the mind, is weak and superstitious, as making God act unnecessarily and superfluously.

A third, who proposes to place *morality* on the *will of a superior*, which is its true bottom, acts yet on the same exterminating model. He takes the other two Principles to be merely visionary: The *moral sense* is nothing but the impression of education; the *love of the species* romantic; and invented by crafty knaves, to dupe the young, the vain, and the ambitious. Nature, he saith, hath confined us to the narrow sphere of *self-love*; and our most pompous pretences of pure disinterestedness, but the more artful disguise of that very passion. He not only denies all *moral difference* in actions, antecedent to the Will of God, which (as we shall shew anon) he might well do; but likewise, all *specific difference*: will not so much as allow it to be a RULE to direct us to the performance of God's will; for that the *notions* of fit and unfit proceed not from that *difference*, but from the arbitrary impositions of *Will* only; that God is the free cause of Truths as well as Beings; and then, consequently, if he so wills, two and two would not make four. At length his system shrinks into a vile and abject selfishness; and, as he degrades and contracts his nature, he slips, before he is aware, quite besides his foundation, which he professes to be the *Will of God*.

Thus have men, borne away by a fondness to their own idle systems, presumptuously broken in upon that TRIPLE BARRIER^e, with which God has

^e St. Paul might have taught them better; who collecting together and enforcing all the motives for the PRACTICE OF VIRTUE, expresseth himself in this manner. "Finally, brethren, *whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just*"—Το λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν ΑΛΗΘΗ, ὅσα ΣΕΜΝΑ, ὅσα ΔΙΚΑΙΑ—ἀληθῆ evidently relating to the *essential difference of things*; σεμνὰ (implying something of worth, splendour, dignity) to the *moral sense* which men have of this difference
been

been graciously pleased to cover and secure Virtue; and given advantage to the cavils of Libertines and Infidels; who on each of these three Principles, thus advanced on the ruins of the other two, have reciprocally forged a scheme of Religion independent on Morality^f; and a scheme of Morality independent on Religion^g; who, how different soever their employments may appear, are indeed but twisting the same rope at different ends: the plain design of both being to overthrow RELIGION. But as the Moralists' is the more plausible scheme, it is now become most in fashion: So that of late years a deluge of moral systems hath overflowed the learned world, in which either the *moral sense*, or the *essential difference*, rides alone triumphant; which like the chorus of clouds in *Aristophanes*, the Αἰναιοι Νεφέλαι, the ETERNAL RELATIONS, are introduced into the scene, with a gaudy outside, to supplant *Jupiter*, and to teach the arts of fraud and *sophistry*; but in a little time betray themselves to be empty, obscure, noisy, impious Nothings.

In a word, with regard to the several sorts of *Separatists*, those, I mean, who are indeed friends

ence; and δικαιο, *just*, is relative to *Will* or *Law*. The Apostle proceeds—"whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report"—ὅσα ἄγνα, ὅσα προσφιλή, ὅσα εὖφημα. In these three latter characters marking the nature of the three preceding: ἄγνα pure referring to *abstract truth*; προσφιλή lovely, amiable, to *innate or instinctive honesty*; and εὖφημα of good report, reputable, to the observation of *Will* or *Law*. He concludes, "If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things." εἰ τις ἀρετὴ, καὶ εἰ τις ἐπαινος, ταῦτα λογίζεσθε. That is, If the moral sense and the essential difference of things can make the practice of morality, a virtue; or obedience to a superior Will, matter of praise, think of these things.

^f See the *Fable of the Bees*, and confer the enquiry into the original of Moral virtue, and the search into the nature of society, with the body of the book.

^g See the fourth Treatise of the *Characteristics*, intituled, *An Enquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*.

to Religion, and who detest the Infidel's abuse of their principles, I would recommend to their interpretation the following oracle of an ancient sage.

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΥΡΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ, Η ΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ.

This noble truth, *that the only true foundation and original of morality is the Will of God interpreted by the moral sense and essential difference of things*, was a random thought of *Chrysippus* the Stoic. I give it this term, 1. Because the ancient philosophy teaches nothing certain concerning the true ground of moral obligation. 2. Because *Plutarch's* quoting it amongst *the repugnances of the Stoics*, shews it to be inconsistent with their other doctrine. And indeed, the following the ancient philosophers too servilely, hath occasioned the errors of modern moralists, in unnaturally separating the three principles of practical morality, *Plato* being the patron of the *moral sense*; *Aristotle* of the *essential differences*; and *Zeno* of *arbitrary will*.

And now, to come more directly to our Adversary's argument: We say then,

1. That the Atheist can never come to the knowledge of the MORALITY of actions properly so called.
2. That though he be capable of being affected with the *moral sense*, and may arrive to the knowledge of the real *essential differences* in the qualities of human actions; yet this *sense* and these *differences* make nothing for the purpose of *M. Bayle's* argument: because these, even in conjunction, are totally insufficient to influence society in the practice of virtue: which influence is the thing in question.

Both these conclusions, I presume, have been clearly proved from what hath been said above, of *the origin of Society*; and, just before, of *the foundation*

dation of moral virtue: But that nothing may be wanting to the argument, I shall crave leave to examine the matter with a little more exactness.

I. And first, *that an Atheist, as such, can never arrive to the knowledge of the morality of actions properly so called*, shall be further made good against the reasoning which Mr. Bayle brings to prove, *that the Morality of human actions may be demonstrated on the principles of a Stratonicean, or atheistic Fatalist*; whom he personates in this manner: “The^h beauty, symmetry, regularity, and order, seen in the universe, are the effects of a blind unintelligent Nature; and though this Nature, in her workmanship, hath copied after no ideas, she hath nevertheless produced an infinite number of species, with each its distinct essential attribute. It is not in consequence of our opinion, that fire and water differ in species, and that there is a like difference between love and hatred, affirmation and negation: Their specific difference is founded in the nature of the things themselves. But how do we know this? Is it not by comparing the essential properties of one of these beings with the essential properties of another of them? But we know, by the same way, that there is a specific difference between truth and falsehood, between good faith and perfidiousness, between gratitude and ingratitude, &c. We may then be assured, that vice and virtue differ specifically by their nature, independent of our opinion.” This, Mr. Bayle calls their being *naturally* separated from each other; And thus much we allow. He goes on: “Letⁱ us see now by what ways *Stratonic* atheists may

^h La beauté, la symétrie, la régularité, l'ordre que l'on voit dans l'univers, sont l'ouvrage d'une nature qui n'a point de connoissance, & qu'encore, &c. *Contin. des pensées diverses*, c. cli:

ⁱ Voions comment ils pouvoient savoir qu'elles estoient outre cela séparées moralement. Ils attribuoient, &c. *Idem ibid.*

“ come to the knowledge of vice and virtue’s being
 “ *morally* as well as *naturally* separated. They as-
 “ cribe to the same necessity of nature the establish-
 “ ment of those relations which we find to be be-
 “ tween things, and the establishment of those rules
 “ by which we distinguish those relations. There
 “ are rules of reasoning independent of the will of
 “ man: It is not because men have been pleased to
 “ fix the rules of syllogism, that therefore those
 “ rules are just and true: they are so in themselves,
 “ and all the endeavours of the wit of man against
 “ their essence and their attributes would be vain
 “ and ridiculous.” This likewise we grant him.
 He proceeds: “ If then there are certain and im-
 “ mutable rules for the operation of the understand-
 “ ing, there are also such for the determinations of
 “ the will.” But this we deny. He would prove
 it thus: “ The ^k rules of these determinations are
 “ not altogether arbitrary; some of them proceed
 “ from the necessity of nature; and these impose an
 “ indispensable obligation. The most general of
 “ these rules is this, *that man ought to will what is*
 “ *most conformable to right reason*: For there is no
 “ truth more evident than this, that it is fit a rea-
 “ sonable creature should conform to right reason,
 “ and unfit that such a creature should recede from
 “ it.” This is his argument. To which I reply,
 that, from thence, no *moral difference* can arise. He
 contends that *things are both naturally and morally*
separable. He speaks of these ideas as very differ-
 ent (as indeed they are) and proves the truth of
 them by different arguments. *The natural essential*
difference of things then, if we mean any thing by
 the terms, hath this apparent property; that it
 creates a *fitness* in the agent to act agreeably thereto:

^k Les regles de ces actes—là ne sont pas toutes arbitraires: il
 y en a qui emanent, &c. *Idem ibid.*

As the *moral difference* of things creates, besides this *fitness*, an *obligation* likewise: When therefore there is an *obligation* in the agent, there is a *moral difference* in the things, and so on the contrary, for they are inseparable. If then we shew, that right reason alone cannot properly *oblige*, it will follow that the knowledge of what is agreeable to right reason doth not induce a *moral difference*: Or that a Stratonicean is not under any *obligation* to act agreeably to right reason; which is the thing Mr. Bayle contends for.

1. Obligation, necessarily implies an Obliger: The Obliger must be different from, and not one and the same with the obliged: To make a man at once the Obliger and obliged, is the same thing as to make him treat or enter into compact with himself, which is the highest of absurdities. For it is an unquestioned rule in law and reason, that whoever acquires a right to any thing from the obligation of another towards him, may relinquish that right. If therefore the Obliger and obliged be one and the same person, in that case all obligation must be void of course; or rather no obligation would have commenced. Yet the *Stratonic* atheist is guilty of this absurdity, when *he* talks of actions being *moral* or *obligatory*. For what *Being* can be found whereon to place this obligation? Will he say *right reason*? But that is the very absurdity we complain of; because *reason* is only an attribute of the person obliged, his assistant to judge of his obligations, if he hath any from another Being: To make *this* then the Obliger, is to make a man oblige himself. If he say, he means by *reason* not every man's particular reason, but *reason in general*; I reply, that *this* reason is a mere abstract notion, which hath no real subsistence: and how that which hath no real subsistence should *oblige*, is still more difficult to apprehend.

2. But

2. But farther, *moral obligation*, that is, the obligation of a free agent, implies a *Law*, which enjoins and forbids; but a *Law* is the imposition of an intelligent superior, who hath power to exact conformity thereunto. But blind unintelligent Nature is no lawgiver, nor can what proceeds necessarily from thence come under the notion of a *Law*: We say indeed, in common speech, the *law of necessity*, and *the law of reason and nature*; but these are merely popular expressions: By the first, we mean only to insinuate, that *necessity* hath, as it were, one property of a *law*, namely that of *forcing*; and by the second, we mean the rule which the supreme Lawgiver hath laid down for the judging of his Will. And while this light and direction of *reason* or *nature* is considered as a rule only, given by the *God of nature*, the term may be allowed: Those who so considered the term were the first who so used it. After-writers retained the name; but, by a strange absurdity, separated the *Law-giver* from his *Law*; on a fancy of its being of virtue to *oblige* by its own intrinsic excellence, or by the good of which it is productive. But how any thing except a *Law*, in the proper philosophic sense, can oblige a dependent reasonable Being endued with will, is utterly inconceivable. The fundamental error in Mr. Bayle's argument seems to be this: He saw the essential difference of things; he found those differences the adequate object of the *understanding*; and so too hastily concluded them to be the adequate object of the *will* likewise. In this he was mistaken, they are indeed the adequate object of the *understanding*; because the *understanding* is passive in its perceptions, and therefore under the sole direction of these necessary differences. But the *will* is not passive in its determinations: for instance, that three are less than five, the understanding is necessitated to judge, but the will is not necessitated to chuse
five

five before three: Therefore the essential differences of things are not the adequate object of the *will*, the Law of a Superior must be taken in to constitute *obligation* in choice, or *morality* in actions.

Hobbes seems to have penetrated farther into this matter, than the *Stratonicean* of Mr. *Bayle*; he appeared to have been sensible that *morality* implied *obligation*, and obligation a *law*, and a law a *Law-giver*: Therefore, having (as they say) expelled the Legislator of the universe, that morality of actions might have some foundation, he thought fit to underprop it with his earthly God, the *Leviathan*; and to make him the creator and supporter of *moral right* and *wrong*.

But a favourer of Mr. *Bayle*'s paradox may perhaps object, that as he was allowed a *fitness*, and *unfitness* in actions, discoverable by the essential difference of things; and as this fitness and unfitness implies benefit and damage to the actor, and others; it being in fact seen, that the practice of virtue promotes the happiness of the Individual, or at least of the Species, and that vice obstructs it; it may be said, that this will be sufficient to make *morality*, or *obligation*, in the *Stratonic* system; if not in the strict sense of the word, yet as to the nature of the thing. To this I reply, that in that System, whatever advanced human happiness, would be only a natural good; and virtue as merely such, as food and covering: and, that which retarded it, a natural evil, whether it was vice, pestilence, or unkindly seasons. *Natural*, I say, in contradistinction to *moral*, or such a good as any one would be *obliged* to seek or promote. For 'till it be made appear that Man hath received his being from the *will* of another; and so depending on that other, is accountable to him for it; he can be under no *moral obligation* to prefer good to evil, or even life to death. From the *nature* of any action, MORALITY cannot

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arise ; nor from its *effects* : Not from the first, because, being only reasonable or unreasonable, nothing follows but a *fitness* in doing one, and an *absurdity* in doing the other : Not from the second, because, did the good or evil produced make the action *moral*, brutes, from whose actions proceed both good and evil, would have *morality*.

If it be farther urged, that the observance of these essential differences is promoting the perfection of a particular system, which contributes, in its concentration, to the perfection of the universe ; and that therefore a reasonable creature is OBLIGED to conform thereto : I answer, first, that (on the principles before laid down) to make a reasonable creature *obliged* in this case, he must first be enforced by the Whole, of which he is part. This enforcement cannot here be by intentional command, whose object is free agency, because the *Stratonic* Whole, or universal Nature, is blind and unintelligible. It must force then by the necessity of its nature ; and this will, indeed, make men obliged as clocks are by weights, but never as free agents are, by the command of an intelligent Superior, which only can make actions *moral*. But secondly, an uniform perfect Whole can never be the effect of blind fate ; but is the plain image and impression of one intelligent self-existent Mind. In a word, as it is of the nature of the *independent* first Cause of all things to be obliged only by his own *wisdom* ; so it seems to be of the nature of all *dependent* intelligent beings to be obliged only by the *will* of the first Cause.

“ All things therefore (says the great Master of reason) do work, after a sort, according to Law : All other things according to a LAW, whereof, some SUPERIOR, to whom they are subject, is Author ; only the works and operations of God have him both for their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God is a kind
I “ of

“ of Law to his working; for that perfection which
 “ God is giveth perfection to that he doth¹.”

Nor does this contradict what we have asserted, and not only asserted, but proved, in speaking of moral obligation, *that nothing, but Will, can oblige*. Because our whole reasoning is confined to *man's obligation*. And if there be any thing certain, in the first principles of law or reason, this must be confessed to be of the number, *that a man can neither oblige himself, nor be obliged by names and notions*; so that, to create an obligation, the *Will* of some other being must be found out. A principle, which the common conceptions of man, and the universal practice of human life confirms. But, as in our discourse of God, the weakness of our intellects constrains us to explain our conceptions of his nature by human ideas, therefore when we speak of the *morality* of *his* actions, finding them to be founded in no other, or superior Will, we say, he is *obliged only by his own wisdom*: *Obligation*, when applied to God, meaning no more than *direction*: for, that an *independent* being can be subject to obligation in the sense that a *dependent* being is subject, is, by the very terms, an high absurdity. *Obligation*, therefore, when applied to man, being *one* thing; when applied to God *another*; the strictest rules of logic will allow different attributes to be predicated of each. It is confessed, we have a clear and adequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to man: of *this* obligation we have affirmed something plain and evident: It is likewise confessed we have a very obscure and inadequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to God: Of *this* obligation, too, we have affirmed something, whose evidence must needs partake of the imperfection of its subject. Yet there have been found Objectors so perverse, who

¹ Hooker's *Ecl. Pol.* B. 1. Sect. 2.

would not only have *clear* conceptions regulated on *obscure*; but what is *simply predicated* of God, to destroy what hath been *proved* of man.

But to set this matter in a fuller light, I will just mention two objections (*not peculiar* to the *Stratoniceans*) against morality's being founded in will.

Obj. 1. It is said, "That, as every creature
" necessarily pursues happiness, it is *that* which
" obliges to moral observance, and not the Will of
" God: because it is to procure happiness that we
" obey command, and do every other act: and be-
" cause, if that Will commanded us to do what
" would make us unhappy, we should be forced to
" disobey it." To this I answer, that when it is
said *morality is founded on Will*, it is not meant
that every Will obliges, but that nothing but
Will can oblige. It is plain the Will of an infe-
rior or equal cannot be meant by it: It is not
simply Will then, but Will so and so circum-
stanced: And why it is not as much Will which
obliges, when it is the *Will of a superior seeking our
good*, as the *Will of a superior simply*, I am yet to
learn. To say then that happiness and not Will
makes the obligation, seems like saying, that when
in mechanics a weight is raised by an engine, the
wheels and *pullies* are not the cause, but that uni-
versal affection of matter called *attraction*. *Obj. 2.*
If it be still urged, "that *one* can no more be called
" the obliger than the *other*; because though hap-
" piness could not oblige without Will, on the
" other hand, Will could not oblige without hap-
" piness;" I reply, this is a mistake. Will
could not indeed oblige to unhappiness; but it
would oblige to what should produce neither one
nor the other, though all considerations of the con-
sequence of obeying or disobeying were away.

Obj. 3. It is said, "That if, according to the
" modern notions of philosophy, the will of God
" be

“ be determined by the eternal relations of things,
“ they are properly those relations (as Dr. Clarke
“ would have it) which oblige, and not the will of
“ God. For if A impel B; and B, C, and C,
“ D; it is A and not C that properly impels D.”
But here I suspect the objection confounds *natural cause and effect* with *moral agent and patient*; which are two distinct things, as appears, as on many other accounts, so from their effects; the one implying *natural necessity*, the other, only *moral fitness*. Thus, in the case before us, the eternal relations are, if you will, the *natural cause*, but the will of God is the *moral agency*: And our question is, not of *natural necessity* that results from the former, but, of *moral fitness* that results from the latter. Thus that which is not properly the natural cause of my acting, is the moral cause of it. And so on the contrary.

On the whole, then, it appears, that *Will*, and *Will only*, can constitute *obligation*; and, consequently, make actions *moral*, i. e. such as deserve *reward* and *punishment*. Yet when men reflect on the affections of their own minds, and find *there* a *sense* of *right* and *wrong* so strongly impressed as to be attended with a *consciousness* that the one deserves *reward* and the other *punishment*, even tho’ there were no God; this so perplexes matters, as to dispose them, in opposition to all those plain *deductions*, to place morality in the *essential difference* of things. But would they consider that *that very sensation*, which so much misleads us in judging of the true foundation of morality, is the plainest indication of *WILL*, which, for the better support of virtue^m, so framed and constituted the human

^m We have explained above the admirable disposition of things, by the God of nature, for the support of virtue. And it was from this view that an able writer, who is for moderating in the dispute about *moral obligation*, calls the *essential difference* of

mind; a constitution utterly inconceivable on the supposition of *no God*; would they, I say, but consider this, the difficulty would intirely vanish.

But so it hath happened, this evident truth, that *morality is founded in will*, hath been long controverted even among *Theists*. What hath perplexed their disputes is, that the contenders for this truth have generally thought themselves obliged to deny the *natural essential differences* of things, antecedent to a Law; supposing, that the *morality* of actions would follow the concession. But this is a mistake, which the rightly distinguishing between things *naturally* and *morally* separable, (as explained above) will rectify. That the distinction hath not been made or observed, is owing to the unheeded *appetite* and *aversion* of the *moral sense*: And their adversaries being in the same delusion, that the *one* inferred the *other*, never gave themselves any farther trouble, but when they had clearly demonstrated the *natural essential difference*, delivered *that* as a proof of the *moral difference*, though they be, in reality, two distinct things, and independent of each other. More

things, discoverable by reason, the *internal obligation*, and the *will of God*, the *external*. J'entends (dit il) par *obligation interne* celle qui est uniquement produite par notre propre raison, considerée comme la regle primitive de notre conduite, et en consequence de ce qu'une action a, en elle-meme, de bon ou de mauvais. Pour l'*obligation externe* ce sera celle qui vient de la volonté de quelque être, dont on se reconnoit dependant, et qui commande ou defend certaines choses, sous la menace de quelque peine. *Burlamaqui, Principes du droit naturel*, p. 76.

If he had called the first, *the improper obligation*, and the other the *proper*, his terms had been a great deal more exact. For it being of the essence of the relative term, *obligation*, to have an outward respect, or external relation, *internal obligation* must be a very *figurative*, that is to say, a very absurd expression, when applied to man. Perhaps, indeed, that ruling Nature which draws all *MACHINES*, whether *brutal* or *rational* (if there be any of the latter kind) to pursue *happiness*, may, in a *philosophic* sense, be called the *internal obligation*; but, surely, when applied to *man*, supposed a free-agent, the terms are mere jargon.

than

than one of our ablest writers have not escaped this delusion. Dr. S. Clarke going on the Principle, that Obligation was founded in the nature of things, to support it, was perpetually forced to confound *moral* and *natural* fitnesses with one another; which makes him, contrary to his character, very inaccurate and confusedⁿ: And Mr. Wolaſton^o, diſſatisfied with all the principles, from which the preceding writers of his party had deduced the morality of actions, when he had demonſtrated, with greater clearneſs than any before him, *the natural eſſential difference of things*, unluckily miſtook it for the *moral difference*; and thence made *the formal ratio of moral good and evil, to conſiſt in a conformity of mens actions to the truth of the caſe, or otherwiſe*. For it is a principle with him, that things may be denied or affirmed to be what they are, by *deeds* as well as *words*. But had both parties been pleaſed to conſider *this natural eſſential difference of things*, as, what it muſt be confeſſed by both to be, THE DIRECTION WHICH GOD HATH GIVEN HIS CREATURES TO BRING THEM TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WILL; AND THE RULE OF THAT WILL, the diſpute had been at an end: and they had employed *this difference*, not as the atheiſt does, for the *foundation* of morality; but, as all true theiſts ſhould do, for the *medium* to bring us to that only ſound foundation, the *will* and command of God. Thoſe who imagine, as the author of *the principles of natural law* ſeems to do, that this is only a diſpute about words^p, are much deceived. The man who regards

ⁿ *Evid. of natural and revealed Religion.* 6th Ed. p. 5—27.

^o *The Religion of Nature delineated.*

^p Je conclus—que les différences qui ſe trouvent entre les principaux ſyſtemes ſur la nature & l'origine de l'obligation, ne ſont pas auſſi grandes qu'elles le paroïſſent d'abord. Si l'on examine de pres ces ſentimens, l'on verra que ces différentes idées, réduites à leur juſte valeur, loin de ſe trouver en oppoſition, peuvent ſe rapprocher—*Burlamaqui*, p. 75—6.

the essential difference of things as a command or a Law properly so called, hath a very different idea of it, from him who regards it only as a Rule or a Law improperly so called. And the reason is plain, because these relative terms have an essential difference; a *Rule*, referring singly to those directed by it; but a *Law* has a double reference; to those governed by it, and to the Lawgiver who gave it. He therefore who regards it as a *Rule*, stops short, and rests obligation there, where no obligation can abide; But he who regards it as a *Law* properly so called, (for those who consider it as a *mere rule* give it the name of *law*, because they make *obligation* to arise from it) rests obligation in a Lawgiver, and pursues it to its true source, the throne of God. The dispute, therefore, is not about *words*, but *things*: Or if we will needs have it to be about words, it is of the *proper* and *improper* use of them, which intimately concerns *things*; indeed TRUTH itself and COMMON SENSE. We say a *sound* is *sweet*, or a *colour* *hot*; and as no body is misled by these expressions, we hold it foolish to divest them of their figure, and formally to contend that (strictly and philosophically speaking) inconsistent properties are ascribed to them. But should it once be assumed that a *sound* may be the subject of *taste* and a *colour* the subject of *touch*, it would be time, I suppose, to rectify an absurdity which tends to confound all our *ideas of sensation*: Just so it is, in the expressions of *truth* or *happiness*, OBLIGING: While these were considered as the *rule* or *reward* of actions, given and imposed by a Master on his servants, by a Creator on his creature, the figure was neither forced nor inelegant; and did not deserve to be quarrelled with. But when the question was of *real obligation*, in a metaphysic sense, then, seriously to contend, that it arises from *truth* or *happiness*, or from any thing but WILL, is the very philosophy of *tasting sound*

sound and feeling colour; and equally tends to the confusion of all our ideas of reflexion.

On the whole then we see, that an Atheist, as such, cannot arrive to the knowledge of MORALITY^a.

2. We now come to our second conclusion against Mr. Bayle's argument, "that the idea of the *moral sense*, and the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things*, are, even in conjunction, insufficient to influence Communities in the practice of virtue:" But we must previously observe, that the arguments, which we allow to be conclusive for the *Stratonic* atheist's comprehension of the natural essential difference of things, take in only that species of atheism: the *other*, which derive all from chance and hazard, are incapable of this knowledge; and must be content with only the *moral sense* for their guide. Let us therefore *first* enquire what this *moral sense* is able to do alone, towards influencing virtuous practice; and *secondly*, what new force it acquires in conjunction with the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things*.

1. Men are misled by the name of *instinct* (which we allow the *moral sense* to be) to imagine that its impressions operate very strongly, by observing their force in brute animals. But the cases are widely different: In Beasts, the instinct is invincibly strong, as it is the sole spring of action: In Man, it is only a friendly monitor of the judgment; and a conciliator, as it were, between Reason and the sensual appetites; all which have their turn in the determinations of the Will. It must consequently be

^a One would not have imagined any body could be so wild to assert, that, on these principles, it could not be proved, that a vicious Atheist deserved punishment at the hand of God. To such shrewd discerners, I would recommend the following case. Your servant gets drunk; and, in that condition, neglects your orders, forgets your relation to him, and treats it as an imposture. Does he, or does he not, deserve punishment? When this is resolved, the point in question will be so too,

much weaker, as but sharing the power of putting upon action with many other principles. Nor could it have been otherwise without destroying human liberty. It is indeed of so delicate a nature, so nicely interwoven into the human frame and constitution, and so easily lost or effaced, that some have even denied the existence of a quality, which, in most of its common subjects, they have hardly been able to observe. Infomuch that one would be tempted to liken it to that *candid appearance*, which, as the modern philosophy has discovered to us, is the result of a mixture of all kinds of primitive *colours*: where, if the several sorts be not found in fit proportions, no whiteness will emerge from the composition. So, unless the original passions and appetites be rightly tempered and balanced, the *moral sense* can never shew itself in any strong or sensible effect. This being the state of *moral instinct*, it must evidently, when alone, be too weak to influence human practice.

When the *moral sense* is made the rule, and especially when it is the only rule, it is necessary that its rectitude, as a rule, should be known and ascertained: But this it cannot be by an Atheist: For till it be allowed there was design in our production, it can never be shewn that one appetite is righter than another, though they be contrarious and inconsistent. The appetite therefore, which, at present, is most importunate to be gratified, will be judged to be the right, how adverse soever to the *moral sense*. But, supposing this *moral sense* not to be so easily confounded with the other appetites; but that it may be kept distinct, as having this peculiar quality so different from the rest, that it is objective to a *whole*, or entire species; whereas the others terminate in *self*, or in the private system; (though, as to *whole* and *parts*, an Atheist must have very slender and confused ideas) granting this, I say, yet national

tional Manners, the issue of *those appetites*, would, in time, effectually, though insensibly, efface the idea of the *moral sense*, in the generality of men. Almost infinite are the popular Customs, in the several nations and ages of mankind, which owe their birth to the more violent passions of fear, lust, and anger. The most whimsical and capricious, as well as the most inhuman and unnatural, have arisen from thence. It must needs therefore be, that customs of this original should be as opposite to the *moral sense*, as those appetites are, from whence they were derived. And of how great power, Custom is to erase the strongest impressions of Nature, much stronger than those of the *moral sense*, we may learn from that general practice, which prevailed in the most learned and polite countries of the world, of EXPOSING THEIR CHILDREN^r; whereby the strong instinctive affection of Parents for their offspring was violated without remorse.

This would lead one into a very beaten common place. It suffices that the fact is too notorious to be disputed. And what makes more particularly for

^r Of all the moral painters, TERENCE is the man who seems to have copied human nature with most exactness. Yet, his Citizen of universal benevolence, whom he draws with so much life, in that masterly stroke, *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, is the same person who commands his wife to expose her new-born daughter, and falls into a passion with her for having committed that hard task to another, by which means the infant escaped death,—*si meum imperium exequi voluisses, interemptam oportuit*. Hence even the divine PLATO reckons the exposing of infants, if not amongst the dictates of nature, yet amongst the precepts of right reason: For in his *book of laws*, which he composed for the reformation of popular prejudices and abuses in human Policies, he decrees, that if the parents had children, after a certain age, they should *expose* them; and that so effectually, he says, that they should not escape dying by famine. Chremes therefore speaks both the dictates of Philosophy and Custom, when he characterizes such who had any dregs of this natural instinct remaining, as persons—*qui neque jus, neque bonum, atque æquum sciunt*.

my argument is, that *Custom* is a power which opposes the *moral sense* not partially, or at certain times and places, but universally. If therefore Custom in the politeſt States, where a Providence was taught and acknowledged, made ſuch havock of Virtue ; into what confuſion muſt things run, where there is no other barrier than the feeble idea of the *moral ſenſe* ? Nor can it be replied, that the cuſtoms here ſpoken of, as ſo deſtructive to the *moral ſenſe*, are the product of falſe Religions ; which ſpring and fountain-head of evil, atheiſm at once dries up : For the inſtance here given is of a Cuſtom merely civil ; with which Religion had no manner of concern. And ſo are a vaſt number of others that are carefully collected by the two writers mentioned above.

2. But now, ſecondly, for our *Stratonic* atheiſt ; in whom, we ſuppoſe, the *moral ſenſe*, and the *knowledge of the eſſential difference of things* act in conjunction to promote virtuous practice. And, in conjunction, they impart mutual ſtrength to one another : For as ſoon as the *eſſential difference* is eſtabliſhed and applied, it becomes a mark to diſtinguiſh the *moral ſenſe* from the other appetites, which are irregular and wrong. And, the *moral ſenſe* being thus carefully kept up and ſupported, the mind, in its metaphyſical reasonings on the *eſſential difference*, is guarded from running into viſionary refinements.

The queſtion then is, “ Whether a clear conviction of right and wrong, abſtracted from all
“ Will and Command, and conſequently, from the
“ expectation of reward and puniſhment, be ſufficient to influence the generality of Men in any tolerable degree ? ” That it is not, will, I ſuppoſe, be clearly ſeen by the following conſideration. All, who have conſidered human nature attentively, have
found,

found^s, that it is not enough to make men follow Virtue that it be owned to be the *greatest* good; which, the *beauty*, *benefit*, or *reasonableness* of it may evince. Before it can raise any desire in them, it must first be brought home to them; and considered by them as a good that makes a necessary part of their happiness. For it is not conceived needful, that a man's happiness should depend on the attainment of the greatest possible good; and he daily forms schemes of complete happiness without it. But the gratification of craving appetites, moved strongly by self-love, being thought to contribute much to human happiness, and being at the same time so opposite to, and inconsistent with Virtue, the generality will never be brought to think, that the uniform practice of it makes a necessary part of human happiness. To balance these appetites, something, then, more interesting must be laid in the scale of Virtue; and this can be only rewards and punishments, which Religion proposes by a *morality founded in Will*.

But this may be farther understood by what hath been observed above, concerning the nature and original of civil Society. *Self-interest*, as we there shew, spurring to action by hopes and fears, caused all those disorders amongst men, which required the remedy of civil Society. And *self-interest*, again, operating by hopes and fears in Society, afforded means for the redress of those first disorders; so far forth as Society could carry those hopes and fears. For to combat this universal passion of *self-love*, another, at least as strong, was to be opposed to it; but such a one not being to be found in human nature, all that could be done was to turn this very Passion in an opposite direction, and to a contrary purpose. Therefore, because Society failed (from

* See Locke's Essay, Chap. Of Power, § 71.

the natural deficiency of its plan) in remedying the disorders it was instituted to correct, and consequently was obliged to call in the aid of Religion, as is above explained; it is evident it must proceed *still* on the same principles of *hopes and fears*. But, of all the three grounds of Morality, the third only thus operating, and an Atheist not having the third, Religion, which only can give it, must be unavoidably necessary for Society. Or in other words, the *moral sense*, and the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things* in conjunction, will be altogether insufficient to influence the generality in virtuous practice.

S E C T. V.

BUT Mr. Bayle, who well understood the force of this Argument, is unwilling to rest the matter here; and so casts about for a motive of more general influence. This, he thinks, he finds in that strong appetite for glory, praise, and reputation, which an Atheist must needs have as well as other men. And this makes his second Argument.

II. “It is most certain^t, (says he) that a man devoid of all Religion may be very sensible of worldly honour, and very covetous of praise and glory. If such a one find himself in a country where ingratitude and knavery expose men to contempt, and generosity and virtue are admired, we need not doubt but he will affect the character of a man of honour; and be capable of restoring a trust, even where the Laws could lay no hold upon him. The fear of passing for a knave would prevail over his avarice. And as there are men, who expose themselves to a thousand inconveniencies, and a thousand dangers, to revenge an affront,

^t Il est—fort certain, qu’un homme destituté de foi, peut être fort sensible à l’honneur du monde, &c. *Penf. div. c. 179.*

“ which

“ which perhaps they have received before very few
“ witnesses, and which they would readily pardon,
“ were it not for fear of incurring infamy amongst
“ those with whom they had to do ; so I believe the
“ same here; that this person, whom we suppose de-
“ void of Religion, would, notwithstanding all
“ the opposition of his avarice, be capable of restor-
“ ing a trust, which it could not be legally proved
“ he had withheld; when he sees that his good faith
“ will be attended with the applauses of the whole
“ place where he resides; while his perfidy might,
“ some time or other, be objected to him, or at least
“ so strongly suspected, that he could not pass in the
“ world’s opinion for an honest man: For it is that
“ inward esteem in the minds of others, which we
“ aspire at, above all things. The words and
“ actions, which mark this esteem, please us on no
“ other account, than as we imagine them to be the
“ signs of what passes in the mind: A machine so
“ ordered as to make the most respectful gesticula-
“ tions, and to pronounce the clearest articulate
“ sounds, in all the detours of flattery, would never
“ contribute to give us a better opinion of ourselves,
“ because we should know they were not signs of
“ esteem in the mind of another. On these accounts
“ therefore, he, of whom I speak, might sacrifice his
“ avarice to his vanity, if he only thought he should be
“ suspected of having violated a trust. And though
“ he might even believe himself secure from all sus-
“ picion, yet, still, he could easily resolve to prefer
“ the honourable part to the lucrative, for fear of
“ falling into the inconvenience, which has happened
“ to some, of publishing their crimes themselves,
“ while they slept, or in the transports of a fever.
“ *Lucretius* uses this motive to draw men, without
“ Religion, to virtue.”

To this, I reply, 1. That it is indeed true, that
commendation and disgrace are strong motives to
men

men to accommodate themselves to the opinions and rules of those, with whom they converse; and that those rules and opinions, in a good measure, correspond, in most civilized countries, with the unchangeable rule of right, whatever *Sextus Empiricus* and *Montaigne* have been pleased to say to the contrary. For virtue evidently advancing, and vice as visibly obstructing the general good, it is no wonder, that *that* action should be encouraged with esteem and reputation, wherein every one finds his account; and *that*, discountenanced, by reproach and infamy, which hath a contrary tendency. But then we say, that seeing this good opinion of the world may be almost as surely gained, certainly with more ease and speed, by a well acted hypocrisy than by a sincere practice of virtue, the Atheist, who lies under no restraints with regard to the moral qualities of his actions, will rather chuse to pursue *that* road to reputation, which is consistent with an indulgence of all his other passions; than *that* whereby they will be at constant war with one another; and where he will be always finding himself under the hard necessity of *sacrificing*, as Mr. Bayle well expresses it, *his avarice to his vanity*. Now this inconvenience he may avoid by resolving to be honest only before company, which will procure him enough of reputation; and to play the rogue in secret, where he may fully indulge his avarice, or what other passion he is most disposed to gratify. That this will be his system, who has no motive, but popular reputation, to act virtuously, is so plain that Mr. Bayle was reduced to the hardest shifts imaginable to invent a reason why an Atheist, thus actuated by the love of glory, might possibly behave himself honestly, when he could do the contrary without suspicion.—“ And though he might believe
“ himself secure from all suspicion, yet still he could
“ easily resolve to prefer the honourable part to the
“ lucrative, for fear of falling into the inconvenience
“ which

“ which hath happened to some, of publishing their
“ crimes themselves, while they slept, or in the
“ transports of a fever.” *Lucretius*, says he, *uses*
this motive to draw men, without religion, to virtue. It
had been to the purpose to have told us, what man,
from the time of *Lucretius* to his own, had been
ever *so drawn*. But they must know little of human
nature, who can suppose, that the consideration of
these remote, possible indeed, but very unlikely ac-
cidents, hath ever any share in the determination of
the Will, when men are deliberating on actions of
importance, and distracted by the shifting uncertain
views of complicated Good and Evil. But granting
it to be likely, or common; the man, *Mr. Bayle*
describes, could never get clear of the danger of
that contingency, which way soever he resolved to
act. Let us suppose him to take the honourable
part, even then, sleep or a fever might as easily de-
prive him of the reputation he affects: For I believe
there is no man, of this turn, but would be as
ashamed to have it known, that all his virtuous ac-
tions proceeded from a selfish vanity, as to be disco-
vered to have stretched a point of justice, of which
civil laws could not take cognizance. It is certain,
the *first* makes a man as contemptible, and much
more ridiculous in the eyes of others, than the *latter*;
because the advantage aimed at is fantastical: And
one discovery sleep or a fever is as likely to make as
the other.

But, 2. Supposing our Atheist to be of so timid
a complexion, as to fear that, even in a course of the
best-acted hypocrisy, he may risque the danger of
being discovered, yet as this practice, by which he
so well covers all the lucrative arts of fraud, enables
him to provide well for himself, he will be easily
brought to hazard all the inconveniences of a de-
tection, to which, indeed, the course is liable, but
which it can so easily repair: for he has ample expe-

rience that though indeed esteem is generally annexed to apparent good actions, and infamy to bad ; yet that there is no virtue which so universally procures popular Opinion as *riches and power*, there being no infamy which they will not efface or cover ; and this being a road to Opinion which leads him, at the same time, to the gratification of his other passions ; there is no doubt but it will be his choice^u.

After many detours, Mr. *Bayle* is, at length, brought to own, that Atheism is, indeed, in its natural tendency, destructive of Society ; but then, he insists upon it, that it never in fact becomes so,

III. *Because* (and this is his next argument) *men do not act according to their principles, nor set their practice by their opinions.* He owns this to have very much of a mystery ; but for the fact he appeals to the observation of mankind : “ For if it were not “ so (says he) ” how is it possible that Christians, who “ know so clearly by a Revelation, supported by so “ many miracles, that they must renounce vice, if “ they would be eternally happy, and avoid eternal “ misery ; who have so many excellent preachers— “ so many zealous directors of conscience—so many “ books of devotion ; how is it possible, amidst all “ this, that Christians should live, as they do, in the “ most enormous disorders of vice ? ” And again^x, agreeably to this observation, he takes notice, “ that “ *Cicero* hath remarked, that many *Epicureans*, contrary to their principles, were good friends and “ honest men ; who accommodated their actions, “ not to their principle, the desire of pleasure, but “ to the rules of reason.” Hence he concludes : “ That those lived better than they talked ; where-

^u —Πλάτῳ δ' αἰρετὴ καὶ κυδῶς ὀπηρεῖ.

Δαίμονι δ' οἶος ἔησθα—

Hesiod. *Oper. & Dies.*

^w—Si cela n'étoit pas, comment, &c. *Penf. div.* c. cxxxvi.

^x Cicéron l'a remarqué à l'égard de plusieurs Epicuriens, &c. c. clxvii.

“ as others talked better than they lived. The
 “ same remark (says he) hath been made on the con-
 “ duct of the *Stoics*: their principle was, that all
 “ things arrived by an inevitable necessity, which
 “ God himself was subject to. Now this should
 “ naturally have terminated in inaction; and disposed
 “ them to abstain from exhortations, promises, and
 “ menacing. On the contrary, there was no sect of
 “ philosophers more given to preaching; or whose
 “ whole conduct did more plainly shew, that they
 “ thought themselves the absolute masters of their
 “ own destiny.” The conclusion he draws from all
 this, and much more to the same purpose, is^y, that
 “ therefore Religion doth not do that service towards
 “ restraining vice as is pretended, nor Atheism that
 “ injury, in encouraging it: while each professor
 “ acts contrary to his proper principle.”

Now from this conclusion, and from words
 dropped up and down^z, of the mysterious quality
 of this phænomenon, one would suspect Mr. *Bayle*
 thought that there was some strange Principle in
 man, that unaccountably disposed him to act in op-
 position to his opinions, whatsoever they were. And
 indeed, so he must needs suppose, or he supposes no-
 thing to the purpose: for if it should be found, that
 this Principle sometimes disposes men as violently to
 act *according to* their opinions, as at other times it in-
 clines them to act *against* them, it will do Mr. *Bayle's*
 argument no service. And if this Principle should,
 after all, only prove to be the violence of the irre-

^y *Contin. des Pens. div. c. cxlix.*

^z Je conçois que c'est une chose bien étrange, qu'un homme
 qui vit bien moralement, & qui ne croit ni paradis, ni enfer.
 Mais j'en reviens toujours-là, que l'homme est une certaine
 creature, qui avec toute sa raison, n'agit pas toujours conséque-
 ment à sa créance; ce seroit une chose plus infinie que de parcou-
 rir toutes les bizarreries de l'homme. Une Monstre plus monf-
 trueux que les Centaures & que la Chimere de la fable. *Pens. div.*
c. clxxvi.

gular appetites, *it* will conclude directly against him. And by good luck, we have our Adversary himself confessing, that this is indeed the case: for though, as I said, he commonly affects to give our perverse conduct a mysterious air, the necessary support of the sophistry of his conclusion; yet, when he is off his guard, we have him declaring the plain reason of it; as where he says, “The^a general idea
“we entertain of a man, who believes a God, a hea-
“ven and a hell, leads us to think, that he would
“do every thing which he knows agreeable to the
“will of God; and avoid every thing which he
“knows to be disagreeable to it: But the life of
“man shews, he does the direct contrary. The
“reason is this: Man does not determine himself to
“one action rather than another by the general
“knowledge of what he ought to do, but by the
“particular judgment he passes on each distinct case,
“when he is on the point of proceeding to action.
“This particular judgment may, indeed, be con-
“formable to those general ideas of *fit* and *right*;
“but, for the most part, it is not so. *He complies,*
“*almost always, with the reigning passion of the heart,*
“*to the bias of the temperament, to the force of con-*
“*tracted habits,*” &c. Now if this be the case, as in truth it is, we must needs draw from this Principle the very contrary conclusion, That, if *men act not according to their opinions*, and that it is the force of the irregular appetites which causes this perversity, a Religionist will *often act against his principles*; but an Atheist, *always conformably to them*: because an Atheist indulges his vicious passions, while he *acts according to his principles*, in the same manner that a Religionist does, when he *acts against his*. It is therefore only *accidental* that men act contrary to their opinions; then, when they oppose their pas-

^a L'idée générale veut que, &c. *Pens. div.* c. cxxxv.

sions: or in Mr. Bayle's words, when *the general knowledge of what one ought to do, doth not coincide with the particular judgment we pass on each distinct case*; which judgment is generally directed by the passions: But that coincidence always happens in an Atheist's determination of himself to action: so that the matter, when stripped of the parade of eloquence, and cleared from the perplexity of the abounding verbage, lies open to this easy answer.

We allow, men frequently act contrary to their opinions, both *metaphysical* and *moral*, in the cases Mr. Bayle puts.

I. *In metaphysical*, where the Principle contradicts common sentiments, as the *stoical fate*, and *christian predestination*^b: there, men rarely act in conformity to their opinions. But this instance doth not at all affect the question, tho' Mr. Bayle, by his manner of urging it, would insinuate, that an Atheist might be no more influenced in practice, by his speculative opinion of *no God*, than a Fatalist, by *his*, of *no liberty*. But the cases are widely different: for, as the existence of God restrains all the vicious appetites by enforcing the duties of morality, the disbelief of it, by taking off that restraint, would suffer, nay invite, the Atheist to act according to his principles. But the opinion of *fate* having no such effect on the morality of actions, and at the same time contradicting common sentiments, we easily conceive how the maintainers of it are brought to act contrary to their principles. Nay, it will appear, when rightly considered, that the Atheist would be so far from not acting according to his opinions, that were his principle of *no God*, added to the fatalist's of *no liberty*, it would then occasion the fatalist to act according to his opinions, though he acted contrary to them before; at least, if the cause Mr. Bayle assigns for

^b *Pens. div. c. clxxvi.*

men's not conforming their practice to their principles, be true: for the sole reason why the fatalist did not act according to his opinions, was, because they could not be used, while he was a Theist, to the gratification of his passions; because, that though it appeared, if there were no liberty, men could have no merit; yet believing a God, the rewarder and punisher of men, as if they had merit, he would act likewise as if they had. But take away from him the belief of a God, and there would be then no cause why he should not act *according* to his principle of *fate*, as far as relates to moral practice.

2. Next, *in morals*. We own that men here likewise frequently act contrary to their opinions: For the view (as we observed above) of the greatest confessed possible good, which, to a religionist, is the practice of virtue, will never, 'till it be considered as making a necessary part of *our* happiness, excite us to the pursuit of it: and our irregular passions, which are of a contrary nature, while they continue importunate, and while one or other is perpetually solliciting us, will prevent us from thus considering virtue as making a necessary part of our happiness. This is the true cause of all that disorder in the life of man, which Philosophers so much admire; which the Devout lament; and for which the Moralist could never find a cure: Where the appetites and reason are in perpetual conflict; and the man's practice is continually opposing his principles. But, on the other hand, an Atheist, whose opinions lead him to conclude, *sensual pleasure to be the greatest possible good*, must, by the concurrence of his passions, consider it as making a necessary part of *his* happiness: and then nothing can prevent his acting *according to his principles*.

We own, however, that the Atheist, Mr. Bayle describes, would be as apt, nay apter, to act against his

his opinions than a Theist: but they are only those slender opinions concerning *the obligation to virtuous practice* which Mr. Bayle hath given him: for if men do not pursue the greatest confessed possible good, 'till they consider it as making a necessary part of their happiness; I ask, which is the likeliest means of bringing them so to consider it? Is it the reflection of *the innate idea of the loveliness of virtue*; or the more abstract contemplation on its *essential difference* to vice? (and these are the only views in which an Atheist can consider it) or is it not rather the belief, that the practice of virtue, as religion teaches it, is attended with an infinite reward? To those opinions, I say, an Atheist is like enough to run counter: but his principles of impiety, which cherish his passions, we must never look to find at variance with his actions: for our adversary tells us, that the reason why practice and principle so much differ, is the violence of human appetites: from which, a plain discourser would have drawn the contrary conclusion; that then, there is the greater necessity to enforce religion, as an additional curb to licentiousness; for, that a curb it is, at least in some degree, is agreed on all hands.

And here, at parting, it may not be amiss to observe, how much this argument weakens one of the foregoing: *There* we are made to believe, that the *moral sense* and *essential differences* are sufficient to make men virtuous: *Here* we are taught, that these, with the *sanction of a Providence* to boot, cannot do it in any tolerable degree.

As to the lives of his *Epicureans*, and other Atheists, which we now come to; the reader is first of all desired to take notice of the fallacy he would here obtrude upon us, in the judgment he makes of the nature of the two different principles, by setting together the effects of *Atheism*, as they appear in the majority of half a score men; and those of *Religion*,

as they appear in the majority of infinite multitudes: A kind of sophism, which small sects in religion have perpetually in their mouths, when they compare their own morals with those in large communities, from which they dissent. And now, to come to his palmary argument taken from fact. For,

IV. In the last place, he says^c, “ that the lives
“ of the several Atheists of antiquity fully shew,
“ that this principle does not necessarily produce
“ depravity of morals.” He instances “ in *Diagoras*,
“ *Theodorus*, *Evemerus*, *Nicanor*, and *Hippon* :
“ whose virtue appeared so admirable to a Father
“ of the Church, that he would enrich Religion
“ with it, and make Theists of them, in spite of
“ all Antiquity.” And then descends to “ *Epicurus*,
“ and his followers, whom their very enemies ac-
“ knowledged to be unblameable in their actions,
“ as the *Roman Atticus*, *Cassius*, and the elder *Pli-*
“ *ny* :” and closes this illustrious catalogue with an
encomium on the morality of *Vanini* and *Spinoza*.
But this is not all ; for he tells us farther^d, of whole
nations of Atheists, “ which modern travellers have
“ discovered in the islands or continents of *Afric*
“ and *America*, that, in point of morals, are rather
“ better, not worse, than the idolaters who live
“ around them. It is true, that these Atheists are
“ savages, without laws, magistrate, or civil poli-
“ cy : but this (he says)^e supplies him with an argu-
“ ment *à fortiori* : for if they live peaceably toge-
“ ther out of civil society, much rather would they
“ do so in it, where equal laws restrain men from
“ injustice.” He is so pleased with this argument,
that he reduces it to this enthymeme^f :

^c *Pens. diver.* c. clxxiv. & *Contin. des Pens. diver.* c. cxliv.

^d *Contin. des Pens. div.* c. lxxxv. & c. cxliv.

^e *Contin. des Pens. div.* c. cxviii.

^f Des peuples athées divisés en familles independantes se font,
&c.

“ Whole nations of atheists, divided into inde-
“ pendent families, have preserved themselves
“ from time immemorial without law.

“ Therefore, much stronger reason have we to
“ think they would still preserve themselves, were
“ they under one common master, and one com-
“ mon law, the equal distributor of rewards and pu-
“ nishments.”

In answer to all this, I say (having once again re-
minded the reader, that the question between us is,
*whether atheism would not have a pernicious effect on
the body of a people in society*) 1. That as to the lives
of those philosophers, and heads of sects, which
Mr. Bayle hath thought fit so much to applaud, no-
thing can be collected from thence, in favour of the
general influence of atheism on morality. We will
take a view of the several motives those men had to
the practice of virtue: for thereby it will be seen,
that not one of these motives (peculiar to their several
characters, ends, and circumstances) reaches the
gross body of a people, seized with the infection of
this principle. In *some* of them it was the *moral
sense*, and the *essential difference of things*, that in-
clined them to virtue: but we have fully shewn above,
that these are too weak to operate on the generality
of mankind; though a few studious, contempla-
tive Men, of a more refined imagination and felici-
ty of temperament, might be indeed influenced by
them. In *others* it was a warm passion for fame,
and love of glory. But though all degrees of men
have this passion equally strong, yet all have it not
equally pure and delicate: so that though *reputation*
is what all affect, yet the gross body of mankind is
little solicitous from whence it arises; and reputation,
or at least the *marks* of it, which is all the people
aspire to, we have shewn, may be easily gained in a
road very far from the real practice of virtue: in
which

which road too, the people are most strongly tempted to pursue it. Very small then is the number of those, on whom these motives would operate, as even *Pomponatius*, in his ample confession taken above, hath acknowledged: and yet these are the most extensive motives that these philosophic Atheists had to the practice of virtue: for, in the *rest*, the motive must be owned to have been less legitimate, and restrained to their peculiar ends or circumstances; as concern for the credit of the sect they had founded, or espoused: which they endeavoured to ennoble by this spurious lustre. It is not easy for a Modern to conceive, how tender they were of the honour of their Principles: The conference between *Pompey* and *Posidonius* the Stoic, is a well-known story^s: and if the fear of only appearing ridiculous by their principles were strong enough to make them do such violence to themselves, what must we believe the fear of becoming generally odious would do, where the principle has a natural tendency, as we see *Cardan* frankly confessed, to make the holder of it the object of public abhorrence? But if the sense of shame were not strong enough, self-preservation would force these men upon the practice of virtue: for though, of old, the Magistrate gave great indulgence to philosophic speculations; yet this downright principle of atheism being universally understood to be destructive to Society, He frequently let loose his severest resentment against the maintainers of it: so that such had no other way to disarm his vengeance, than in persuading him by their lives, that the principle had no such destructive tendency. In a word then, these motives being peculiar to the leaders of sects, we see that the virtuous practice arising from thence makes nothing for the point in question.

^s *Tasc. Disp.* l. ii. c. 25.

2. But he comes much cloſer to it, in his next inſtance; which is of whole nations of modern Savages, who are all atheiſts, and yet live more virtuously than their idolatrous neighbours. And their being yet unpolicied, and in a ſtate of nature, makes, he thinks, the inſtance conclude more ſtrongly for him. Now, to let the truth of the fact paſs unqueſtioned; though *Homer* ſeemed to have a very different opinion of the matter, when he makes the atheiſtical *Cyclops* to be the moſt unjuſt and violent, as well as moſt brutal, race of men upon earth. And what faith might be expected from ſuch a people, the poet gives us to underſtand, in that fine circumſtance, where one of them was accoſted by *Ulyſſes*, who was then a ſtranger to their Principles. This wary hero, imploring the aſſiſtance of a *Cyclop* tells him with great openneſs who he was, whence he came, and the ſum of his adventures. But no ſooner had the Monster profeſſed himſelf a thorough FREE-THINKER, than the experienced traveller loſt all hopes of faith or juſtice from him; and, from that moment, put himſelf upon his guard, and would not truſt him with one word of truth, more.

Ἀλλὰ μιν ἄψορρον προσέφην δολίοις ἐπέεσσιν.

But I ſay, to let this paſs, I ſhall endeavour to detect the ſophiſtry of his concluſion (which I had before obviated in the ſecond ſection^b concerning the inſufficiency of human Laws alone) in a fuller explanation of that reaſoning.

It is notorious, that man, in Society, is inceſſantly giving the affront to the public laws. To oppoſe which, the Community is as conſtantly buſied in adding new ſtrength and force to its ordinances. If we enquire into the cauſe of this perversity, we ſhall find it no other than the number and violence of the ap-

^b See p. 63.

petites. The appetites take their birth from our real or imaginary wants: our REAL wants are unalterably the same; and, as arising only from the natural imbecillity of our condition, extremely few, and easily relieved. Our FANTASTIC wants are infinitely numerous, to be brought under no certain measure or standard; and increasing exactly in proportion to our improvements in the arts of life. But the arts of life owe their original to Society¹: and the more perfect the Policy, the higher do those improvements arise; and, with them, are our wants, as we say, proportionably increased, and our appetites inflamed. For the violence of these appetites, which seek the gratification of our imaginary wants, is much stronger than that raised by our real wants: not only because those wants are more numerous, which gives constant exercise to the appetites; and more unreasonable, which makes the gratification proportionably difficult: and altogether unnatural, to which there is no measure; but, principally, because vicious custom hath affixed a *kind of reputation* to the gratification of the fantastic wants, which it hath not done to the relief of the real ones. So that when things are in this state, we have shewn above, that even the most provident Laws, without other assistance, are insufficient. But in a state of nature, unconscious of the arts of life, men's wants are only real; and these wants, few, and easily supplied. For food and covering are all which are necessary to support our Being. And Providence is abundant in its provisions, for these wants: and while there is

¹ There is one remarkable circumstance in the *Mosaic* history, that, I should fancy, must needs give our *free-thinkers* a high idea either of the *veracity* or *penetration* of the author. It is, where, having represented *Cain* as the first who built a city, or made advances towards civil society, he informs us, that his posterity were the inventors of the arts of life, in the instances he gives of *Jabal*, *Jubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*.

more than enough for all, it can hardly be, that there should be disputes about each man's share.

And now the reader sees clearly how it might well be, that this rabble of Atheists should live peaceably in a state of nature, though the utmost force of human Laws, in the improved condition of Society, could not hinder them from running into mutual violence. But the sophistry of this enthymeme is further seen from hence. Not even Mr. *Bayle* himself would pretend, that these Atheists, who live peaceably in their present state, without the restraint of human laws, would live peaceably without this restraint, after they had understood and practised the arts of life in credit amongst a civilized people. In Society therefore, which the arts of life inseparably accompany, an imposed curb, he will own, would be necessary. I then argue thus, If a people, who out of Society could live peaceably without the curb of Law, could not live peaceably without that curb in Society; you have no reason to believe, that, though out of Society they might live peaceably without the curb of religion, they could live peaceably, without that curb, in Society? The answer to this must bring on again the question, How strong the curb on man, in Society, should be? which we have fully examined in another place. This argument, therefore, proves nothing but the folly of pretending to conclude, concerning man in Society, from what we see of his behaviour, out of it.

And here, in conclusion, once for all, it may not be amiss to observe, the uniform strain of sophistry which runs through all Mr. *Bayle's* reasonings on this head. The question is, and I have been frequently obliged to repeat it, he so industriously affecting to forget or mistake it, *Whether atheism be destructive to the body of a Society?* And yet he, whose business it is, to prove the negative, brings all his arguments from considerations, which either
affect

affect not the gross body of mankind, or affect not that body, in Society: in a word, from the lives of *Sophists* or *Savages*; from the example of a few speculative men far above the view of the common run of *citizens*; or from *that* of a barbarous crew of *savages* much farther below it. All his facts and reasonings then being granted, they still fall short and wide of his conclusion.

But the last stroke of his apology is more extravagant than all the rest: for having proved atheism very consistent with a state of nature, lest it should happen to be found not so consistent with civil society, but that one of them must rise upon the ruins of the other, he gives a very palpable hint which of the two he thinks should be preserved; by making it a serious question, discussed in a set dissertation^k, WHETHER CIVIL SOCIETY BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MANKIND^l? and very gravely resolving it in the negative.—And here let me observe, that these PHILOSOPHERS (as Mess. *Voltaire* and *D'Alembert* call all those who despise Religion) never suffer a good hint to lye unimproved. The famous Citizen of *Geneva* building upon this before us, hath since written a large Discourse to shew, that CIVIL SOCIETY IS EVEN HURTFUL TO MANKIND.

S E C T. VI.

I Have here given, and to the best advantage, all the arguments Mr. *Bayle* hath employed to prove Religion not necessary to civil Society; by which it may be seen, how little the united force of wit and eloquence is able to produce for the support of so outrageous a paradox.

^k *Contin. des Pens. div. c. cxviii.*

^l Si les societés sont absolument nécessaires pour conserver le genre humain.

The reader will imagine, that now nothing can hinder us from going on to our *second* proposition; after having so strongly supported the *first*. But we have yet to combat a greater monster in morals before we can proceed.

As the great foundation of our proposition, *that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to civil society*, is this, *that religion is necessary to civil society*; so the foundation of this latter proposition is, *that VIRTUE is so*. Now, to the lasting opprobrium of our age and country, we have seen a writer publicly maintain, in a book so intituled, that PRIVATE VICES WERE PUBLIC BENEFITS. An unheard of impiety, wickedly advanced, and impudently avowed, against the universal voice of nature: in which *moral virtue* is represented as the invention of knaves; and *christian virtue* as the imposition of fools: in which (that his insult on common sense might equal what he puts on common honesty) he assures his reader, that his book is a system of most exalted morals and religion: And that the *justice of his country*, which publicly accused him^m, was pure calumny.

But I shall undertake to shew, and that in very few words, to the admirers of the low buffoonry and impure rhetoric of this wordy declaimer, that his whole fabric is one confused heap of falsehoods and absurdities.

I. *First* then, it is to be observed, that though his general position be, *that private Vices are public benefits*, yet, in his proof of it, he all along explains it by *Vice only in a certain measure, and to a certain degree*. And, as all other writers have deduced the necessity on private men in society, to be virtuous, and on the magistrate severely to punish vice, from the *malignity of the nature of Vice*; so he enforces this

* By the Grand-jury of Middlesex.

necessity, on both, from the *malignity of its excess*. And indeed he had been only fit for bedlam had he not given this restriction to the general sense of his proposition.

However, this is full enough to expose the falsehood of that assertion, which his whole book is written to support, namely, *that vice is absolutely necessary for a rich and powerful Society*. For whatsoever is *absolutely necessary* to the well being of another in matter of morals, must be so, by its essential properties; the use of which thing will be, then, in proportion to its degree. And this the common moralists observe of Virtue with regard to the State. But whatsoever is useful to another, only when in a certain degree, is not so by its essential properties; if not by its essential properties, then, of course, by accident only; and, if by accident, not necessary.

The first part of the former assertion may be proved thus. If A be absolutely necessary to B, it is, because neither C, nor D, nor any thing but A, can supply the wants of B. But if nothing but A can supply these wants, it is because the supplial is afforded by the *essential* properties of A; which essential properties are incommunicable to all other beings; the communication of them to C, D, &c. making C and D the same as A, which is absurd: for if the supplial of the wants of B were caused by what was not *essential* to A, but *accidental*; then might these wants as well be supplied by C, D, &c. as by A; because that which is *accidental* only, may belong in common to several different beings. The second part may be proved thus: These *essential qualities can never be excessive*; as for instance, There can never be too much *Virtue* in a state. *Specific Virtues*, indeed, may be pushed to excess; but then they lose their nature, and become *Vices*; in which state of things, Society will be so far from having
too

too much, that it will have too little Virtue. It is not so with *generic* Virtue; therefore that *essential* Quality in A, which in a lower degree profits B, must in a higher degree be still more useful to B. On the other hand, *accidental* Qualities may be excessive; so that, that *accidental* Quality in A, which profiteth B in a lower degree, may injure B in a higher. This is the case of REAL LUXURY, in its effects on Society; as will be shewn in the progress of this section: for tho' a specific Virtue carried to an excess becomes Vice, yet a Vice, so pushed on, never becomes Virtue; but, on the contrary, by advancing in malignity, more clearly evinces it's true nature, and exposes its baleful effects.

From all this, it appears, that a great and powerful Community, which is, in itself, a natural good, and, as such, desireable, may procure and preserve its grandeur without Vice, though Vice so frequently produces and supports it: because this utility of Vice not arising from its essential qualities, but from some accidental circumstances attending it, may be supplied by something that is not Vice, attended with the same circumstances. As for instance, the consumption of the *products of art and nature* is the circumstance which makes States rich and flourishing. Now if this consumption may be procured by actions not vicious, then may a State become great and powerful without the assistance of Vice. That it may, in fact, be thus procured, shall now be shewn.

II. The Author, descending to the enumeration of his proofs, appears plainly to have seen, that Vice in general was only *accidentally* productive of good: and therefore avoids entering into an examination of particulars; but selects, out of his favourite tribe, LUXURY, to support his execrable paradox; and on this alone rests his cause. By the assistance of this ambiguous term, he keeps something like an argu-

ment on foot, even after he hath left all the rest of his City-crew to shift for themselves. And it must be owned, there is no word more inconstantly and capriciously applied to particular actions; or of more uncertain meaning, when denominating such actions, than the term *Luxury*. For, unapplied, it has like all other moral modes, an exact and precise signification; and includes in it, *the abuse of the gifts of Providence*. The difficulty is only to know when this question is abused. Men have two ways of deciding: the one, by the *principles of Natural religion*; the other, by the *positive institutions of Revealed*. In those *Principles*, all men are reasonably well agreed; but, concerning these *Institutions*, when taken separately, and independent on those *Principles*, there are various opinions, which superstition and fanaticism have greatly distorted: consequently, those who estimate *Luxury* by this latter rule, (where obscurity and, of course, confusion, are so difficult to be avoided) will disagree extremely about it: and amongst such diversity of notions, it would be strange indeed, if some or other had not ideas of *Luxury*, which would serve the wildest hypothesis; and much stranger, if so corrupt a Writer did not take advantage of them. He has done it like a master: and with a malice and cunning to intitle him, tho' he be but a follower, to be a Leader of a sect.

First, in order to perplex and obscure our idea of *Luxury*, he hath laboured in a previous dissertation, on *the origin of moral virtue*, to destroy those very principles, by whose assistance we are only able to clear up and ascertain that idea: where he decries and ridicules the essential difference of things, the eternal notions of right and wrong; and makes VIRTUE, which common moralists deduce from thence, the offspring of craft and pride.

Nothing

Nothing now being left to fix the idea of *Luxury*, but the positive precepts of *Christianity*, and he having stript these of their only true and infallible interpreter, the principles of *natural Religion*, it was easy for him to make those precepts speak in favour of any absurdities that would serve his purpose, and as easy to find such absurdities supported by the superstition and fanaticism of some or other of those many Sects and Parties of *christianity*, who, despising the principles of the Religion of Nature as *the weak and beggarly elements*, soon came to regard the natural appetites, as the graceless furniture of *the old man, with his affections and lusts*.

Having got CHRISTIANITY at this advantage, he gives us for Gospel, that meagre Phantom begot by the hypocrisy of *Monks* on the misanthropy of *Ascetics*: which cries out, AN ABUSE! whenever the gifts of Providence are used, further than for the bare support of nature. So that by this rule every thing becomes *Luxury* which is more than *necessary*. An idea of *Luxury* exactly fitted to our Author's hypothesis: for if no State can be rich and powerful while its members seek only a bare subsistence, and, if what is more than a bare subsistence be *Luxury*, and *Luxury* be *Vice*; the consequence, we see, comes in pat, PRIVATE VICES ARE PUBLIC BENEFITS. Here you have the sole issue of all this tumour of words. But it is difficult to think, that a Writer of such depravity of heart, had not farther ends in this wicked representation of *natural* and *revealed* Religion. We cannot doubt his purpose, when we reflect upon his gains, which are, the fixing of his followers in a propensity for *Vice*, and in a prejudice against *Christianity*. For what can be more in favour of *Vice*, than, that there is no moral duty? What more in discredit of *Christianity*, than, that all the enjoyments of life are condemned by it as evil?

III. But the GOSPEL is a very different thing from what Bigots and Fanatics are wont to represent it. It enjoins and forbids nothing in moral practice, but what natural Religion had before enjoined and forbid. Neither indeed could it, because one of God's Revelations, whether ordinary or extraordinary, cannot contradict another; and because God gave us the first, to judge of others, by it. Accordingly we find, that though it be indeed one of the great ends of *Christianity* (but not the main and peculiar end) to advance the practice of moral virtue amongst men, yet the New Testament doth not contain any regular or complete system or Digest of moral laws; the detached precepts enforced by our divine Master in it, how excellent and perfect soever, arising only from the occasions and circumstances which gave birth to those discourses or writings, in which such precepts are delivered. For the rest, for a general knowledge of the system of moral-duty, the founders of our Religion hold open to us the great Pandect of the law of nature, and bid us search and study that. Finally, says the apostle Paul, *whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, think on these things.* But where vicious custom, or perverse Interpreters, had depraved the Religion of Nature, there, particular care was taken to remove the rubbish of time and malice, and to reinstate the injured moralities in their primitive dignity and splendor.

The *Religion of Nature*, then, being restored, and made the rule to explain and interpret the occasional precepts of *Christianity*; what is *Luxury* by *natural Religion*, that, and that only, must be *Luxury* by *revealed*. So that a true and precise definition of it, which this Writer (triumphing in the obscurity which, by these arts, he hath thrown over the idea) thinks it impossible to give, so as not to suit with his hypothesis,

sis, is easily settled. *LUXURY* is the using the gifts of Providence, to the injury of the User, either in his person or fortune; or to the injury of any other, towards whom the User stands in any relation, which obliges him to aid and assistance.

Now it is evident, even from the instances this Writer brings of the public advantages of consumption, which he indiscriminately, and therefore falsely, calls *Luxury*, that the utmost consumption may be made, and so all the ends of a rich and powerful Society served, without injury to the User, or any one, to whom he stands related: consequently without *Luxury*, and without *Vice*. When the consumption is attended with such injury, then it becomes *Luxury*, then it becomes a *Vice*. But then, let us take notice, that *this Vice*, like all others, is so far from being advantageous to Society, that it is the most certain ruin of it. It was this *Luxury* which destroyed *Rome*. And the very definition given above, informs us of the manner how it came to pass; namely, by enervating the body, debauching the mind, beggaring the fortune, and bringing in the practice of universal rapine and injustice. But the wretched absurdity of supposing *Luxury* beneficial to society, cannot be better exposed, than by considering, that, as *Luxury* is the abusing the gifts of Providence, to the injury of himself and of those to whom we stand related; and as the *Public* is that, to which every man stands nearest related; the consequence is, that *Luxury* is, at one and the same time, beneficial and injurious to the Public. Nor can the absurdity I here charge upon him, be evaded by saying it is deduced from a proposition of his, and a definition of mine, set together: Because, however we may differ whether the use of things, where no one is injured, be *Luxury*; yet we both agree in this, that where there is that injury in the use, it is *Luxury*; and *Luxury*, in this sense, he holds to be beneficial to Society.

The case I here put, of *Luxury's* injuring the PUBLIC, by depriving the state of that aid and assistance from particulars, which, the relation they stand in to it, requires them to give, is no imaginary or unlikely supposition. This effect of *Luxury* it was which contributed, more immediately than any other, to the destruction of the Roman Commonwealth. For in the last struggles for liberty by a FEW, against the humour of a debauched *luxurious* people, when nothing but a sufficient fund was wanting to enable those godlike men to restore the Republic, the richest citizens, who yet wished well to their Country, could not be prevailed upon to retrench from their private *Luxury*, to support the Public in this critical exigency: which therefore, having been long shaken by the *Luxury* of its enemies, fell now a sacrifice to the *Luxury* of its friends. Thus the great *Roman patriot* describes the fatal condition of those times: *Nos habemus LUXURIAM, atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam.*

In a word then, it is not *Luxury*, but the *consumption* of the products of art and nature, which is of so high benefit to Society. That this *consumption* may well be, without *Luxury*, appears plainly from the definition given above. All the difference is, and that a very essential one, when the *consumption* is made without *Luxury*, infinitely greater numbers share in it; when it becomes *Luxury*, it is confined to fewer. The reason of this, and the different effects this different consumption must have on the Public, is very evident. Had the consumption of the commodities and products of Greece when conquered (which indeed were necessary to render the Romans polite and wealthy) been more equally made by that people, it would have been extremely beneficial. But being unjustly claimed by one part, exclusive of the rest, "*omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidebat,*" it became luxury and destruction.

destruction. The Historian shews us how it was brought about: “ There (says he) the Roman
 “ people first began to intrigue, to debauch, to af-
 “ fect a taste for statues, pictures, and high-wrought
 “ plate. To come at which, they oppressed the
 “ private, plundered the public, violated the temples
 “ of the Gods, and polluted and confounded
 “ every thing both sacred and prophaneⁿ.” Till at length,

“ Sævior armis
 “ LUXURIA incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.”

HAVING endeavoured to shew in this and the two following Books, *that* the PRIESTS and LAWGIVERS of former times all concurred in supporting the belief of a FUTURE STATE, I am stopped in the midst of my course, by a late noble Writer, who hath taken advantage of this notorious truth, to represent the labours of those Moderns, who have trode in the same steps, as A CONFEDERACY BETWEEN DIVINES AND ATHEISTS TO DISHONOUR AND DEGRADE THE GOD OF THE UNIVERSE.

“ After pleading the cause of natural and revealed
 “ Religion, (says his Lordship) I am to plead the
 “ cause of God himself, against DIVINES AND
 “ ATHEISTS IN CONFEDERACY^o.

“ The conduct of Christian Divines has been so
 “ far from defending the Providence of God, that
 “ they have joined in the clamour against it. No-
 “ thing has hindered, even those who pretend to be
 “ his Messengers, his Embassadors, his *Plenipoten-*

ⁿ Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere.

^o Lord BOLINGBROKE's *Works*, vol. v. p. 305.

“ *tiaries*, from renouncing their allegiance to him,
 “ (as they themselves have the FRONT TO AVOW,)
 “ but the hypothesis of a FUTURE STATE. On *this*
 “ *hypothesis alone*, they insist; and therefore if this
 “ will not serve their turn, God is disowned by them,
 “ as effectually as if he was so, in terms ^p. ” “ Divines,
 “ if not Atheists, yet are ABETTERS of Atheism ^q. ”

“ That there were some men, who knew not God
 “ in all ages may be true: but the scandalous task of
 “ COMBATING HIS EXISTENCE under the mask of
 “ Theism, was reserved for Metaphysicians and
 “ Theologians ^r. ”

—“ Divines are still more to be blamed. A
 “ CONFEDERACY WITH ATHEISTS becomes ill the
 “ professors of Theism. No matter. They PER-
 “ SIST, and have done their best, in concert with
 “ their allies, to DESTROY the belief of the GOOD-
 “ NESS of God:—They endeavour to DESTROY that
 “ of his GOODNESS, which is a farther article of their
 “ ALLIANCE ^s. ”

“ The CONFEDERACY between Atheists and Di-
 “ vines appears to have been carried VERY FAR—
 “ Nay the Atheist will appear, to that reason, to
 “ which they both appeal, more consistent in his ab-
 “ surdity than the Divine ^t. ” “ Divines UPBRAID
 “ God’s GOODNESS, and CENSURE his JUSTICE ^u. ”
 —“ INJUSTICE is, in this life, ascribed to God, by
 “ Divines ^w. ”

“ The whole Tribe of Divines, like Wollaston
 “ and Clarke, do, in effect, RENOUNCE the God
 “ whom you and I adore, as much as the rankest of
 “ the Atheistical Tribe. Your Priests and our Parsons
 “ will exclaim most pathetically, and RAIL OUTRA-
 “ GEOUSLY at this assertion. But have a little pati-
 “ ence, and I will prove it to their shame to be true ^x. ”

^p Vol. v. p. 487—8.

^q Vol. v. p. 485.

^r Vol.

v. p. 307.

^s Vol. v. p. 393.

^t Vol. v. p. 348—9.

^u Vol. v. p. 417.

^w Vol. v. p. 541.

^x Vol. v. p. 485.

The Reader will give me leave, in a few words, to vindicate the body of Divines from the horrid calumny of this imaginary Confederacy.

He may be pleased then to understand, that ATHEISM has ever endeavoured to support itself, on a FACT, which has indeed all the certainty that the evidence of sense and experience can give it; namely, *the unequal distribution of moral good and evil*, here below.

—“Cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi

“Adspicerem, *lætosque diu florere nocentes,*

“*Vexarique pios*——LABEFAC TA CADEBAT

“RELIGIO,”——

was the common language of the impatient sufferer. From hence the Atheist inferred, that the Universe was without an intelligent Ruler; and that all things were driven about by that Fate or Fortune, which first produced them. DIVINES opposed this *Conclusion*; for they did not venture to be so paradoxical as (with his Lordship) to call in question *the Premisses*, a phenomenon which objected itself to all their Senses. They first demonstrated, strictly demonstrated, the Being of a God, and his MORAL ATTRIBUTES: And then shewed, that if the whole of man's existence were included within this life, the present distribution of good and evil would contradict that Demonstration. They, therefore, inferred, on their part, that the whole of man's existence was not included within this life: but that he was reserved for an after reckoning; in which, an *equal distribution of rewards and punishments* would amply vindicate the providence of a righteous Governor.

But *Atheists* were not the only enemies whom *Divines* had to deal with. There was a set of men, who allowed an intelligent first Cause, endowed with those MORAL ATTRIBUTES, which the Divines had demonstrated: and, on that account, called themselves DEISTS. Yet they agreed so far with *Atheism*,

as

as to confine the whole of man's existence to the present life. These, the *Divine* combated, in their turn ; and with the same arms ; but in an inverted order. In disputing with the ATHEISTS the principle held in common, was *the present unequal distribution of Good and Evil*. So that to cut off their conclusion from it, of NO GOD, he *demonstrated* the Being and Attributes : and from that proof inferred that the inequality would be set right. With DEISTS the common principle was *the Being and Attributes of God*. Therefore, to bring them to the allowance of a FUTURE STATE, he appealed to the present *unequal distribution of good and evil*, (which these Men, as well as his Lordship, were very backward to allow and very industrious not to see) and from that inequality inferred, that there must be such a State.

This is a short and true account of the DIVINE's contest with ATHEISTS and DEISTS, so far as the subject of *a future state* came in question : In both controversies that *state* is deduced from *the moral attributes* : only with this difference. In the dispute with Atheists, the demonstration of those attributes is *made* ; in the dispute with Deists it is *allowed*. The final purpose against Atheism is to prove the BEING AND ATTRIBUTES of God ; the final purpose against Deism is to prove a FUTURE STATE : For neither *natural* nor *revealed* Religion can subsist without *believing that God is, and that he is a REWARDER of them that seek him*^y. Thus, we see, the *question*, in each controversy, being different ; the *premisses*, by which each proposition was to be proved, must needs be different. The difference is here explained : the premisses, in the argument against Atheists, were the *moral attributes* ; the premisses, in the argument against Deists, were the *unequal distribution of good and evil*.

^y St. Paul.

What Enemy to Religion now, could ever hope to see a Calumny either thrive or rise on so unpromising a ground? or flatter himself with the expectation of an Advocate bold enough to tell the World, that this conduct of the DIVINES was a CONFEDERACY WITH ATHEISTS, *to decry God's Providence; to blot out his Attributes of goodness and justice; to combat his Government; and to deny his very Existence?* The RIGHT HONOURABLE Author does all this: And more;—he expects to be believed. It is true, this is a fine believing age: Yet I hardly think he would have carried his confidence in our credulity so far, had he seen his way clear before him.—His Lordship is always sublime, and therefore often cloudy; commonly, at too great a distance to look into the detail of things, or to enter into their *minuteness*: (for which, indeed, he is perpetually felicitating his Genius.) So that, in his *general view* of Theologic matters, he has jumbled these two Controversies into one; and, in the confusion, hath commodiously slipped in one Fact for another. He, all the way, represents Divines as making *a future State* THE PROOF of God's moral attributes: Whereas, we now see, on the very face of the controversy, that they make *the moral attributes* A PROOF of *a future State*. Let us consider how the dispute stands with the *Atheist*. These men draw their argument against a God, from the condition of the moral world: The Divine answers, by demonstrating God's *Being and Attributes*: and, on that demonstration, satisfies the objection. Consider how it stands with the *Deist*. Here, God's Being and Attributes is a common principle: And on this ground the Divine stands, to deduce a *future state* from the unequal distribution of things.—But his misrepresentation was to support his slander of a CONFEDERACY: there was no room to pretend that God's Being was made precarious by proving a *future state* from his Attributes;

butes ; but could he get it be believed, that Divines proved the Attributes from a *future state*, he would easily find credit with his kind Reader, for all the rest.

Well then, the whole amount of his CHIMERICAL CONFEDERACY comes to this, That *Divines and Atheists hold a principle in common* ; but, in common too with all the rest of mankind ; namely, that there are irregularities in the distribution of good and evil here below. And did any thing forbid *Divines* to employ this common principle, in support of Religion against *Atheism and Deism* ! But whatever his Lordship might think proper to disguise in this reasoning, there is one thing, the most careless Reader will never overlook ; which is, that, under all this pomp of words and solemnity of accusation, you see lurking that poor species of a Bigot's calumny, which, from *one* principle held in common with an obnoxious Party, charges his Adversary, with *all* the follies or impieties which have rendered that Party odious. This miserable artifice of imposture, had now been long hissed out of learned controversy, when the noble Lord took it up ; and, with true political skill, worked it into a SHAM PLOT ; to make RELIGION distrust it's best Friends, and take refuge in the FIRST PHILOSOPHY.

B O O K II.

S E C T. I.

HAVING now proved the first PROPOSITION, *That inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of Society*, by considerations drawn from the *nature of Man*, and the *genius of civil Society*; and cleared it from the objections of licentious Wits;

I proceed to the *second*; which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

This I shall endeavour to prove,

I. From the conduct of Lawgivers, and Institutors of civil policy.

II. From the opinions of all the Learners and Teachers of wisdom in the schools of ancient philosophy.

I. FROM THE CONDUCT OF LAWGIVERS, AND INSTITUTORS OF CIVIL POLICY: who never omitted to propagate and confirm Religion, where-ever they established Laws; RELIGION, I say, which was always first in their view, and last in their execution. They used it as the instrument to collect a body politic; and they applied it as the bond to tye and keep that body together: they *taught* it in civilizing man; and *established* it to prevent his return to barbarity and a savage life. In a word, so inseparable,
4 in

in the ancient World, were the ideas of LAWGIVING and RELIGION, that Plutarch, (in his paradoxical preference of atheism to superstition, supposes no other Origin of divine worship than what was the work of the Lawgiver. “How much happier had it
 “been (says he) for the Carthaginians, had their
 “first Lawgiver been like Critias or Diagoras, who
 “believed neither Gods nor Demons, rather than
 “such a one as enjoined the public sacrifices to Sa-
 “turn^z?”

That the Magistrate, as such, hath taken the greatest care and pains to inculcate and support Religion, we shall prove at large: That this care and pains must arise, and was employed, on account of its confessed and experienced utility to the State, will need no proof.

But here it will be necessary to remind the reader of this previous truth, *That there never was, in any age of the world, from the most early accounts of time, to this present hour, any civil-policed nation or people, who had a Religion, of which the chief foundation and support was not the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments; the JEWISH PEOPLE only excepted.* This, I presume, our adversaries will not deny. Mr. Bayle, the indulgent foster-father of Infidelity, confesseth it in the fullest manner, and with the utmost ingenuity: “Toutes les religions du
 “monde, tant la vraie que les fausses, roulent sur
 “ce grand pivot, qu’il y a un juge invisible qui
 “punit & qui recompense, *apres cette vie*, les acti-
 “ons de l’homme tant exterieures qu’interieures.
 “C’est de la que l’on suppose que decoule la princi-
 “pale utilité de la religion:” and thinks, it was the utility of this doctrine which set the Magistrate upon inventing a Religion for the State: “C’est le

^z Τί δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἐκ ἐλυσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβῶσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινα θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων νομίζειν, ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Χρόνῳ ἔθουον; — Περὶ δεισιδ.

“ principal motif qui eut animé ceux qui l’auroient inventée^a. ”

This truth, we beg the reader always to have in mind : So that when, in the sequel of this discourse, he meets with ancient testimonies for the necessity of RELIGION to Society, he may be sure, that the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, was the chief idea included in that term. And on this account it is, that frequently, where the Ancients speak of the *source* of those utilities, which can proceed only from the doctrine of a *future state*, they give it the common name of *Religion* : as, on the other hand, they often call *Religion* by the restrictive name of a *future state* : On which account, I have not scrupled, throughout this discourse, to use the same liberty of applying the generic or specific term, one for the other, without any apprehension of being thought not to understand my argument, or of being misunderstood by my reader : Who when he sees me bring facts and opinions of Antiquity, which shew the utility of Religion in general, to prove the utility of the doctrine of a future state in particular, will understand that I speak home to my purpose, and to the full proof of my second proposition.

So that, had I done no more than produce *such facts and opinions*, I had done all that was necessary : But since the bare *necessary* is esteemed almost as poor and unhandsome a thing in literature as in civil life, I have employed the greatest part of the present and following books to shew, from ancient facts and opinions, the more than ordinary care and concern of all the wise and learned, for perpetuating the specific doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments.

Having premised thus much to prevent mistakes, I proceed in the first place,

^a *Diſt. Crit. & Hiſt. Art. SPINOZA. Rem. (E.)*

1. To shew, *in general*, the civil Magistrate's care in this matter.

The popular doctrine of a Providence, and, consequently, of a future state of rewards and punishments, was, as we have said, so universally received in the ancient world, that we cannot find any civilized country where it was not of national belief. The most ancient *greek* poets, as *Musæus*^b, *Orpheus*^c, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, &c. who have given systems of theology and religion, on the popular creed of such nations, always reckon the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments as a fundamental article: And all succeeding writers have given testimony to the same concerted plan. *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, whose profession it was to represent the manners and opinions of all civilized people, whether *Greeks* or those whom the *Greeks* called *Barbarians*, are full and express to the same purpose. Further, it is recorded in the works of every ancient historian and philosopher, which it would be endless to recite. But *Plutarch*, the most knowing of them all, shall speak for the rest: Examine^d (says he, in his tract against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*) “ the face of the globe, and you
“ may find Cities unfortified, unlettered, without a
“ regular Magistrate, or appropriated habitations;
“ without possessions, property, or the use of money,
“ and unskilled in all the magnificent and polite
“ arts of life: But a City without the knowledge of
“ a God, or the practice of Religion; without the
“ use of vows, oaths, oracles, and sacrifices to pro-
“ cure good, or of deprecatory rites to avert evil,

^b *Plato Rep. lib. 11.*

^c *Plutarch, Vita Lucul.*

^d — εὖροις δ' ἂν ἐπιὼν καὶ πόλεις ἀτειχίστους, ἀγραμμάτους, ἀβασιλεύ-
τας, ἀοίκους, ἀχρημάτους, νομίσματα μὴ δεομένας, ἀπείρους θεάτρων καὶ
γυμνασίων ἀνιέρων δὲ πόλεως καὶ ἀθέων, μὴ χρωμένης εὐχαῖς, μηδὲ ὄρκοις,
μηδὲ μαντείαις, μηδὲ θυσίαις ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς, μηδὲ ἀποτροπαῖς κακῶν, εἰδείς
ἔστιν ἔδει ἔσαι γεγονώς θεολῆς.

“no man can or ever will find.” And in his consolation to *Apollonius*, he declares it ^c was so ancient an opinion that good men should be recompensed after death, that he could not reach either to the author or original of it. To the same purpose had *Cicero* and *Seneca* declared themselves before him. The first in these words; “^f As our innate ideas discover
“to us that there are Gods, whose attributes we
“deduce from reason; so, from the consent of all
“nations and people, we conclude that the soul is im-
“mortal.” The other thus: “When ^g we weigh
“the question of the immortality of the soul, the
“consent of all mankind, in their fears and hopes of a
“future state, is of no small moment with us.”

In a word, *Sextus Empiricus*, when he would discredit the argument for the being of a God, brought from universal consent, observes that it would prove too much; because it would prove the truth of the poetic fables of hell, in which there was as general a concurrence ^h.

But of all nations, the EGYPTIAN was most celebrated for its care in cultivating Religion in general, and the doctrine of a future state in particular: infomuch that one of the most ancient greek historians affirms, *They were the first who built altars and erected statues and temples to the Gods*ⁱ.—*The first who taught that the soul of man was immortal.* And Lu-

^c—Καὶ ταῦθ' ἔτις ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ διατελεῖ νενομισμένα παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥστε τὸ παράπαν ἔδειξεν οἶδεν ἔδδ' τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔτε τὸν δέντα πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπειρῶν αἰῶνα τυγχάνουσι διατέλεις ἔτι νενομισμένα.

^f—Ut Deos esse naturâ opinamur, qualesque sint natione cognoscimus; sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium. *Tuscul. Disp.* l. i. c. 16.

^g Cum de animarum æternitate differimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. *Ep.* 117.

^h *Adv. Physicos*, l. viii. c. 2. *Comment.*

ⁱ Βωμές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηὲς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρῶτες. *Herod. Euterpe*, c. 4.—Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσιν οἱ εἰπόντες ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι. *Id. ib.* c. 123.

cian tells us ^k, *That they were said to be the first who had the knowledge of the Gods.* Which only amounts to this, that they were the first and wisest civil-politied people: as will appear presently.

But, at present, to prove *the Magistrate's care from hence.*—For this account of the antiquity and universality of Religion is not given to evince its *truth*; for which purpose other writers have often and successfully employed it; but to manifest its *use*; which will be best done by inquiring what share the Magistrate had in it.

1. Now though no civilized nation was ever without a Religion in general, and this doctrine in particular; and though it was of general belief even before civil policy was instituted amongst mankind; yet were there formerly, as now there are, many savage nations, that, when first discovered, appeared to have long lost all traces of religion: A fact which implies some extraordinary care in the Magistrate for its support and preservation. For if Religion hath been supported in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances, where there was a Magistrate and civil policy; and scarce in any place, or under any circumstance, where these were wanting; what other cause than the Magistrate's care and contrivance can be assigned for its support?

If it should be said, which, I think, is the only plausible thing can be said, that the reason why the Citizen had religion, and the Savage none, might be, that, amongst the advantages of civil life, the improvement and cultivation of the mind is one; and this necessarily brings in the knowledge of God and religious observance: It is sufficient to reply, that all the national Religions of the ancient and modern Gentile world are so gross and irrational,

^k Πρώτοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν. *De Dea Syria, initio.*

that they could not be the product of reflection or improved reason, but were plainly of the Magistrate's fitting up, adapted to the capacity of minds yet rude and uncultivated, which could bear nothing of a finer texture than what was made out of the stuff he found, the genius of the Nation and the nature of the Government.

To give the proof of what we have been saying: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* in the South, and the people of *Canada* in North America, were on a level with regard to speculative knowledge. Or, if there were any natural advantage, the *Canadians* had it. These, when discovered, seemed to have no rudiments of Religion: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* had one formed, digested, and established: but such a Religion, as discovered something worse than mere ignorance, but never could be the result of improved thinking: However a Religion it was which taught the great articles of the worship of a God, a providence, and a future state. Now how happened it that these two great empires had a Religion, and the *Canadians* none, but that the Lawgivers of the former saw it necessary to countenance, add to, and perpetuate what they found¹, for the benefit of the state? which advantage the *Canadians* wanting, they lost, in course of time, the very footsteps of Religion. If this will not be allowed, it will be difficult to assign a reason.

Let us suppose, according to the objection, that *gentile* Religion owes its birth to the improved and cultivated mind. Now, if we make collections from the nature of things, it will be found more likely that these northern Savages should longer preserve the notions of God, and the practices of Religion, than the southern Citizens, uninfluenced by their Magistrates.

¹ See Book III. Sect. 6. II. 1. and pag. *antepenult.*

The way of getting to the knowledge of a God, best suited to the common capacity of man, is that very easy one, the contemplation of the works of nature: For this employment, the Savage would have fitter opportunities given him by his vacant and sedentary life; and by his constant view of nature, which all his labours, and all his amusements, perpetually presented to him naked and unsophisticated. The *Comte de Boulainvilliers*, a writer by no means prejudiced in favour of religion, gives this reason why the *Arabians* preserved so long, and with so much purity, their notions of the Divinity^m.

On the other hand, Nature, by which we come to the knowledge of a first Cause, would be quite hid from the southern Citizen, busied in the works of barbarous arts, and inhuman practices; or taken up with the slavish attendance on the will, and a more slavish imitation of the manners of a cruel and capricious Tyrant.

Nor, if we may credit the relations of travellers, do the northern people any more neglect to exercise their reason than the southern: It is constant, they are observed to have sounder intellects than those nearer the sun: which, being owing to the influence of climes, is found to hold all the world over. Notwithstanding this, the issue proved just the contrary; and, as we said, the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans* had a Religion, the *Canadians* none at all.

Who then can doubt but that this was owing to the care and contrivance of the Magistrate? But indeed (which makes this instance the more pertinent) the *fact* confirms the *reasoning*. The Founders of these two monarchies pretended to be the messengers

^m *La Vie de Mohammed*, p. 147. Ed. Amst. 1731. Je reviens volontiers à la louange de la solitude des Arabes. Elle a conservé chez eux plus longtems, & avec moins de mélange, le sentiment naturel de la véritable divinité, &c.

and offspring of the Gods; and, in the manner of the grecian, and other Legislators (of whom more hereafter) pretended to inspiration, established Religion, and constituted a form of worship.

II. But not only the *existence*, but the *genius* too of pagan Religion, shews the Magistrate's hand in its support.

First, From the *origin* of their Gods.

Secondly, From the *attributes* given to them; and

Thirdly, From the *mode of public worship*.

First, The idolatry of the gentile States was chiefly the worship of dead men; and these, Kings, Lawgivers, and Founders of civil policy. The benefit accruing to the State both from the *consecration* and the *worship* of such Gods, shews it to be a contrivance of the Lawgiver. For, 1. Nothing could be a greater excitement to good government than to shew the Magistrate that the public benefits, which he should invent, improve, or preserve, would be rewarded with an immortality of fame and glory? *Cicero* gives this as the original of the civil apotheosis. "It may be easily understood, that
"the reason, why most Cities prosecuted the me-
"mory of their valiant men with divine honours,
"was to spur up their Citizens to virtue, that every
"the most deserving of them might encounter
"dangers with the greater chearfulness, in the
"service of his country. And for this very cause
"it was that, at Athens, Erectheus and his daugh-
"ters were received into the number of the Gods".
2. Nothing could make the people so observant of their Laws, as a belief that the makers, framers, and

ⁿ Atque adeo in plerisque civitatibus intelligi potest, acuendæ virtutis gratiâ, quo libentius reipublicæ causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis filiæque ejus in numero deorum sunt. *Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 19.

administrators of them were become Gods ; and did dispense a peculiar providence for their protection and support.

The records of antiquity support this reasoning. The EGYPTIANS were the first people who perfected Civil-policy, and established Religion : And they were the first, too, who deified their kings, law-givers, and publick benefactors ° ; as we may collect from the passage of *Herodotus*, quoted above, which says, *they were the first who built altars, and erected STATUES and temples to the Gods* : For the erecting *statues* was, by this historian, esteemed a certain mark that the worshipers believed the Gods had *human natures* ; as appears from the reason he gives why the Persians had no *statues* of their Gods, namely, *because they did not believe as the Greeks, that the Gods had human natures* ^P, that is, they did not

° "ΑΛΛΗΣ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητὰς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τὴν ἀθανασίαν· ὧν ἐνίκα καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὸν Αἴγυπτον. *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 8. Steph. Ed.*

^P "Ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι ἐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισον τὰς θεάς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. *Clio. à 131. Valla* explains the word ἀνθρωποφυέας by *ex hominibus ortos* ; and, I think, rightly. But our learned *Stanley*, in his notes to the *Persians* of *Æschylus*, understands it otherwise : and that it rather signifies *humana forma præditos*. I suppose it appeared harsh to him, that any one could imagine the Gods had *human natures* ; but the meaning is explained above. Yet the ingenious writer of the *letters concerning mythology*, p. 217. sides with our country-man, and understands ἀνθρωποφυής to signify,—*made like a man*—or, *of the shape and figure of a man*. But if we regard the literal meaning of the two simples which make up this compound, we cannot avoid understanding it to signify, *being of man's nature*. How then does this learned writer support his criticism ? By a passage from *Hecataeus* : who, on pretty much the same occasion, uses (as he supposes) ἀνθρωπόμορφος, in the place of ἀνθρωποφυής ; and ἀνθρωπόμορφος, he thinks, all will agree, must signify, *of the shape and figure of a man*. No, not if his own method of interpretation be right : for, if ἀνθρωποφυής, (transferred from the literal, to the figurative sense) must signify of man's *form*, then ἀνθρωπόμορφος so transferred, must signify of man's *nature*. But it is not true, that *Hecataeus* uses ἀνθρω-

believe

believe the Gods were dead men deified: This, as we say, was a practice, invented by the *Egyptians*; who, in process of time, taught the rest of the world their mystery⁹. So when arts and civil policy were brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus* and *Ceres* (the first, though a *Phenician* by birth, being an inhabitant of *Thebes* in *Egypt*; and the other, though coming immediately from *Sicily*, was yet a natural *Egyptian*) then, and not till then, began the custom of deify-

πόμορφος in the place of ἀνθρωποφυής. The propositions of Herodotus and Hecataeus are different, and therefore we may well suppose these two words, in the predicate of each, to be different. Herodotus, speaking of the *PERSIANS*, says, they had no statues of their Gods, because they did not believe, with the Greeks, that the Gods had *human natures* [ἀνθρωποφυέας]. And Hecataeus, speaking of *MOSES*, says, he permitted no images of the Gods, because he did not hold, with the gentiles, that God had a *human form* [ἀνθρωπόμορφον]. And their use of different words, as we shall now see, was with accuracy and discernment; for they were asserting different things. The question between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, (who worshipped many gods in common) was, whether these Gods were *partakers of human nature*, ἀνθρωποφυέας; that is, whether they were dead men deified. But the question between *Moses* and the Gentiles, was, whether the God of the universe had a *human form*, ἀνθρωπόμορφος; not whether *the gods had human natures*; for these Gods, the Jews had nothing to do with; they worshipped only the one God: and several of the Gentiles, who had some knowledge of this one God, imagined he might have a *human form*. So that we see, the use of these two terms, on the *same* occasion, is so far from shewing their signification to be the *same*, as the learned writer supposes, that the occasion demonstrably shews their signification to be *different*. Let me only observe, it appeared so evident to Eusebius, that the custom of making the statues of the Gods in *human form* was an indication of their original from mortality, that he says, ὁ γέ τοι ἀληθὴς λόγος· βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε, μονονεχὶ φωνὴν ἀφίεις, δηλὲς ἀνδρας μαρτυρῶν γεγονέναι τὰς δηλαμένους. Ευαγγ. πρωτ. β. γ.

⁹ Προδιαβρῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν αἵθρι σαφήνειαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν μετὰ μέγ. διάλυσιν, ὅτι οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἄνθρωποι, θεὸς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστος τὰς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρεῖαν εὐρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι εὖ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· εὐεργέτας τε τέττας καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίαις ἀγαθῶν ἡγόμενοι, ὡς θεὸς προσεκύνην. Philo Bibl. apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 9.

ing dead men ; which soon over-ran all *Greece* and the rest of *Europe*^r.

2. *The attributes and qualities assigned to their Gods*, always corresponded with the nature and genius of the government. If this was gentle, benign, compassionate, and forgiving ; goodness and mercy were most essential to the Deity : But if severe, inexorable, captious, or unequal ; the very Gods were Tyrants ; and expiations, atonements, lustrations, and bloody sacrifices composed the system of religious worship. In the words of the great Poet,

“ Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 “ Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust,
 “ Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 “ And form’d like tyrants, tyrants would believe^s.

But 3. *The mode of public worship* was alone sufficient to betray the Mover of the whole machine. The *object* of what we call *Religion*, being God, considered as the creator and preserver of a species of rational beings, the *subject* of it must needs be each individual of that species. This is that idea of Religion, which our common reason approves. But now, in ancient paganism, *Religion* was a very different thing : It had for its *subject* not only the *natural man*, that is, each Individual ; but likewise the

^r Sir Isaac Newton, who, probably, had not this matter in his thoughts, hath yet a remarkable passage to this purpose in his *chronology of the Greeks* : “ Idolatry (says he) began in *Chal-*
 “ *dæa* and *Egypt*.—The countries upon the *Tigris* and the *Nile*
 “ being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, and
 “ grew first into kingdoms; and THEREFORE began first to adore
 “ their dead kings and queens :—Every city set up the worship
 “ of its own founder and kings, and by alliances and conquests
 “ they spread this worship, and at length the *Phœnicians* and
 “ *Egyptians* brought into *Europe* the practice of deifying the
 “ dead.” Pag. 161.

^s *Essay on Man*.

artificial man, Society; by and for whom, all the *public* rites and ceremonies of it were instituted and performed. And while that part of pagan Religion, whose *subject* were individuals, bore an inferior part, and was confessed to be under an unequal Providence, the consideration of which brought in the doctrine of a future state for the support of God's government; the other, whose subject was the artificial man, Society, taught a more equal Providence, administered to the State. The consequence of which was, that Religion and Government ran into one another; and prodigies and portents were as familiar as civil edicts; and as constantly bore their share in the public administration: For the Oracles, without which nothing was projected or executed, always denounced them as national directions, declarative of divine favour, or displeasure; in which *particulars*, as such, were not at all concerned: So that to accept or to avert the omen; to gratulate the mercy, or deprecate the judgment, the constant method was the revival of *old rites*, or the institution of *new*. A reformation of manners, or enforcement of sumptuary laws never made part of the state's atonement to the Gods.

The oddness and notoriety of this fact so forcibly struck Mr. Bayle's imagination, that, mistaking this for the whole of Paganism, he too hastily concluded, that *the worship of false Gods in the ancient world, did not at all influence morals*¹: And from thence formed an argument to support his favourite question in behalf of atheism. This was a strange conclusion: For though it be indeed true, that the *public* part of pagan Religion had no influence on morals, it is utterly false that the *private* part had not: For in the doctrine of a future state,

¹ *Pensées diverses sur un comete, &c. And Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial. And Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c.*

which

which was the foundation of, and inseparable from, this founder part of pagan Religion whose subject was the *individual*, the merit and demerit, to which rewards and punishments were annexed, was virtue and vice only. This will be proved at large in the fourth section of the present book: Though I am ready to allow, that the nature and administration of the public part of pagan Religion did lead *individuals* into many wrong conclusions concerning the efficacy of *exterior* acts of worship.

But what seems to have occasioned Mr. *Bayle's* mistake (besides his following the Fathers, who in their *declamations* against paganism have said a great deal to the same purpose^u) was his not reflecting that ancient History only presents us with *one* part of the influence of Paganism, that which it had on the Public as a body: The *other*, the influence it had on individuals, it passes over in silence, as not its province.

Whoever now considers the genius of Paganism in this view, (and unless he considers it in this view he will never be able to judge truly of it^{*}) can hard-

^u Yet St. *Austin* himself cannot but own that the MYSTERIES however (of which the Reader will hear a great deal in the 4th Sect. of this Book) were principally instituted for the promoting of virtue and a good life, even where he is accusing *Paganism* in general for its neglect of moral virtue: "Nec nobis nescio quos
"susurros paucissimorum auribus anhelatos & arcana velut religi-
"one traditos jactent, quibus vitæ probitas castitasque discatur."
—*Civ. Dei*, l. ii. c. 6.—"Iidem ipsi Dæmones—perhibentur in
"adytis suis, secretisque penetralibus dare quædam bona præcep-
"ta de moribus quibusdam velut electis sacratis suis—Proinde
"malignitas dæmonum nisi alicubi se, quemadmodum scriptum
"in nostris litteris novimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis, non im-
"plet negotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo
"strepitu impietas impura circumsonat, & intus paucis castitas si-
"mulata vix sonat: præbentur propatula pudendis, & secreta
"laudandis: decus latet, & dedecus patet," &c. c. 26.

^{*} What is here said of the genius of paganism well accounts for a circumstance in ancient history, which very much embarrasses the modern critics. They cannot conceive how it happened,

ly doubt but that the civil magistrate had a great hand in modelling *Religion*. What it was which enabled him to give this extraordinary cast to Paganism, is not difficult to discover: It could be nothing but that *popular disposition* arising from, and the necessary consequence of, those general notions, which, by his contrivance and encouragement, had overspread the heathen world? 1. That there were local tutelary Deities, who had taken upon themselves, or were intrusted with, the care and protection of particular Nations and People; (of which, more hereafter.) 2. That those great benefactors of mankind, who had reduced the scattered tribes and clans into civil Society, were become Gods. 3. and lastly, That their systems of Laws and civil Institutes were planned and digested by the direction of the legislator's patron-Deity^y.

On the whole then, The foregoing considerations of the *preservation* of Religion in general; the *origine* of the pagan Gods; their *attributes*; and the *mode of public worship*, will, I am persuaded, incline the reader to think that, for the *universality of religious belief*, the world was chiefly indebted to the civil Magistrate; how much soever the illegitimate or

that the best ancient historians, who understood so well what belonged to the nature of a Composition, and how to give every sort of work its due form, and were besides free from all vulgar superstition, should abound so much in descriptions of religious rites and ceremonies; and in relations of omens, prodigies, and portents. Many an idle hypothesis hath been framed to give a solution of this difficulty; and many a tedious work compiled to justify these ancient historians, upon mere modern ideas. But now a plain and easy answer may be given to it. *This part* of pagan Religion was so interwoven with the transactions of State, that it became *essential* to civil history. And how much soever it may be supposed to have deformed ancient story, yet the Critic and Philosopher gain by what disgusts the delicacy of the Politician; the greek and roman history being the repository of all that concerns the *public part* of pagan religion.

^y See the beginning of the next section.

unnatural constitution of particular States, or the defective views of particular Lawgivers, contributed to deprave the true Religion of *nature*; or, if you will, the *patriarchal*. The learned St. *Austin*, who excelled in the knowledge of antiquity, seems to have been determined by this way of thinking, when he gives it, as the result of his enquiries; that the civil Magistrate had a large share in pagan superstition. His words are these^z, “—Which indeed seems to have been done on no other account but as it was the business of princes, out of their wisdom and civil prudence, to deceive the people in their Religion—princes, under the name of religion, persuaded the people to believe those things true which they themselves knew to be idle fables. By this means, for their own ease in government, tying them the more closely to civil Society.”

But if now it should be objected, that it was natural for the people, left to themselves, to run into those superstitions, we may readily grant it without prejudice to the argument: For they are always such notions as are apt to be entertained and cherished by vulgar minds, whose current the wise Magistrate is accustomed to turn to his advantage. For to think him capable of new modelling the human mind, by *making* men religious whom he did not *find* so, is, as will be shewn hereafter, a senseless whimsy, entertained by the Atheist to account for the origin of Religion. And, when it is seen that all these various modes of superstition concurred to promote the Magistrate's purpose, it can

^z—Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum videtur, nisi quia hominum principum velut prudentium & sapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere—Homines principes ea, quæ vana esse noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera suadebant: Hoc modo eos civili societati velut arctius alligantes, quo subditos possiderent. *De Civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 32.

hardly be doubted but he gave them that general direction. The *particular* parts of gentile Religion, which further strengthen and confirm this reasoning, are not here to be insisted on. Their original will be clearly seen, when we come to shew the several methods which the Magistrate employed for this great purpose. What these methods were, the course of the argument now leads us to consider.

S E C T. II.

IT hath been shewn in general, from the EFFECT, that Lawgivers and founders of civil policy did indeed support and propagate Religion. We shall now endeavour to explain the CAUSES of that effect, in a particular enumeration of the arts they employed to that purpose.

I. The FIRST step the Legislator took, was to pretend a Mission and revelation from some God, by whose command and direction he had framed the Policy he would establish. Thus *Amasis* and *Mneves*, lawgivers of the *Egyptians* (from whence this custom spread over *Greece* and *Asia*) pretended to receive their laws from *Mercury*; *Zoroaster* the lawgiver of the *Bactrians*, and *Zamolxis* lawgiver of the *Getes*, from *Vesta*; *Zathraustes* the lawgiver of the *Arimaspi*, from a good spirit or genius; and all these most industriously and professedly propagated the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* lawgivers of *Crete*, and *Lycaon* of *Arcadia*, pretended to an intercourse with *Jupiter*; *Triptolemus* lawgiver of the *Athenians*, affected to be inspired by *Ceres*; *Pythagoras*, and *Zaleucus*, who made laws for the *Crotoniates* and *Locrians*, ascribed their institutions to *Minerva*; *Lycurgus* of *Sparta*, professed to act by the direction of *Apollo*; and *Romulus* and

and *Numa* of *Rome* put themselves under the guidance of *Consus*, and the Goddess *Egeria*^a. In a word, there is hardly an old Lawgiver on record, but what thus pretended to revelation, and the divine assistance. But had we the lost books of *Legislators* written by *Hermippus*, *Theophrastus*, and *Apollodorus*^b, we should have had a much fuller list of these inspired statesmen, and doubtless, many further lights on the subject. The same method was practised by the founders of the *great outlying empires*, as *Sir William Temple* calls them. Thus the first of the *Chinese* monarchs was called *Fagfour* or *Fanfur*, the *son of Heaven*, as we are told by the *jesuits*, from his pretensions to that relation. The *royal commentaries of Peru* inform us, that the founders of that empire were *Mango Copac*, and his wife and sister *Coya Mama*, who proclaimed themselves the son and daughter of the *Sun*, sent from their father to reduce mankind from their savage and bestial life, to one of order and society. *Tuisco* the founder of the *German* nations pretended to be sent upon the same message, as appears from his name, which signifies the interpreter^c, that is, of the *Gods*. *Thor* and *Odin*, the lawgivers of the *Western Goths*, laid claim likewise to inspiration and even to divinity^d. The *Revelations of Mahomet* are too well known to be insisted on. But the race of these

^a *Diod. Sic.* l. i. & v. *Ephorus* apud *Strabonem*, l. x.—teste veteri scriptore apud *Suidam* in [*Δουάων*]*—Arist.* apud *Schol. Pind.* ad x. *Olymp.*

^b *Athen.* l. xiv. *D. Laertius*.

^c Vide *Sheringham*, *De Anglorum gentis origine*, p. 86.

^d Olim quidam magicæ artis imbuti, *Thor* videlicet & *Othinus*, obtentis simplicium animis, divinitatis sibi fastigium arrogare cœperunt.—Adeo namque fallaciæ eorum effectus percrebuit, ut in ipsis cæteri quandam numinum potentiam venerantes, eosque deos, vel *deorum complices* autumantes veneficiorum auctoribus solennia vota dependerent, & errori sacrilego respectum sacris debitum exhiberent. *Saxo-Gram.* l. vi. *Histor.*

inspired Lawgivers seems to have ended in Genghizcan the founder of the Mogul empire^c.

Such was the universal custom of the ancient world, to make Gods and Prophets of their first kings and lawgivers. Hence it is, that Plato makes *legislation* to have come from God, and not from man^f: and that the constant epithets to kings, in Homer, are ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ *born of the Gods*, and ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ *bred or tutored by the Gods*^g.

From this general pretence to revelation we may collect the sentiments of the ancient lawgivers concerning the use of Religion to Society. For we must always have in mind what Diodorus Siculus so truly observes, *That they did this, not only to beget a veneration to their laws, but likewise to establish the opinion of the superintendency of the Gods over human affairs*^h. One may venture to go farther,

^c Ils ont attribué des revelations à Genghizcan; & pour porter la veneration des peuples aussi loin qu'elle pouvoit aller, ils lui ont donné de la divinité. Ceux qui s'interessioient à son elevation eurent même l'insolence de le faire passer pour fils de Dieu. Sa mere plus modeste, dit seulement qu'il etoit FILS DU SOLEIL. Mr. Petis de la Croix, le pere, *Histoire du Genghizcan*, c. 1.

^f Θεός ἢ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὃ ξένοι, εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως; ΚΑ. Θεός, ὃ ξένε, θεός, ὡς γε τὸ δικαιοτάλον εἰπεῖν. De Leg. l. i.

^g Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος. Il. B'. ver. 196. which title of διοτρεφέος is not given, says Eustathius on the place, to signify that such a one is descended from Jupiter, but that he receives his honour and authority from him. Ἐφερμηνεύει διατί ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ καὶ ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ τὰς βασιλεῖς λέγει, ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκεσι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ΕΞ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ Η ΤΙΜΗ.

^h Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν παλαιὰν τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον βίῃ καλᾶσασιν, τὴν μυθολογμένην γενομένην ἐπὶ τε τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων, πεῖσαι φασὶ πρώτον ἀγράπτοις νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πληθὴ βῆν τὸν Μνεύην, ἄνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τῶν μνημονευομένων, προσποιηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τέττας, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας ἐσόμενης καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποιῆσαι φασὶν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκῆρσον· τὸν μὲν παρὰ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος φήσαντα τέττας εἴληφέναι· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείωσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τὸ τοῦ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίον γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν—

—εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν εὐρεῖν λεγομένων, τὰς νόμους ἐποβλέψαι τὸν ὄχλον, μᾶλλον ὑπακυσσεσθαι διαλαβόντας. L. i.

and

and say, that to *establisb this superintendency* was their principal and direct aim, in all their pretensions to inspiration.

The reader may observe, that *Diodorus* does not so much as suspect them of having a third end, distinct from these two; that is to say, the advancement of their own private interest. And this with great judgment. He knew well the difference between a *LAWGIVER* and a *TYRANT*; though the World soon after seems to have lost the memory of that distinctionⁱ. Such views became not the former; they destroyed his character, and changed him into his direct opposite; who applied every thing to his own interest; and this amongst the rest. *Aristotle*, in his maxims for setting up, and supporting a tyranny, lays this down for one, *to seem extremely attached to the worship of the Gods, for that men have no apprehension of injustice from such as they take to be religious and to have a high sense of providence. Nor will the people be apt to run into plots and conspiracies against those, whom they believe the Gods will, in their turn, fight for, and support*^k. And here it is worth noting, that, anciently, *Tyrants*, as well as *Lawgivers*, gave all encouragement to Religion; and endeavoured to establish their irregular Wills, not by convincing men that there was no just nor unjust in actions; but by persuading them that the privilege of *divine right* exempted the Tyrant from all moral obligation. Hence may be seen the absurdity of

ⁱ Quintilian L. VIII. C. 6. *de Tropis* says, that *Pastor Populi*, though used by Homer, is so POETICAL that he would not venture to use it in an oration; and ranks it with Virgil's—*Volucres pennis remigare*. What could occasion so strange a piece of Criticism, but that when Quintilian wrote under the *Tyrants* of Rome, the People had lost the very idea of the *Kingly Office*?

^k "Ετι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὰς θεὰς φαίνεσθαι αἰεὶ σπυδαζοῦντα διαφερόντως, ἥτιόν τε γὰρ φοβεῖναι, τὸ παθεῖν τι παρὰ νόμον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, εἰάν τις δαιμόνα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιζεν τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπιβλεῦσιν ἥτιόν, ὡς συμμαχος ἔχοντι καὶ τὰς θεὰς. Polit. l. v. c. 11.

Hobbes's scheme of Politics, who, for the sake of the Magistrate, was for eradicating Religion. But the ancients knew better; and so too did some of the moderns¹.

The question then is, whether these pretensions of the ancient Lawgivers were feigned in *the first intention*, for the sake of Society or of Religion? For it is no question, but that what we here shew was contrived by the Magistrate for the service of Religion, was done *ultimately* for the sake of Civil Government. Or in other words, the question, I say, is, Whether this pretence to inspiration was made to establish a *civil* or a *religious* Society? If a *civil*; the ends aimed at must be the *reception of his policy*, or *provision for its perpetuity*. I speak not here of that third end, *the securing a veneration, for them, to posterity*; and for a good reason, because *this* is the very thing I contend for; such *veneration* being only to be procured by the influence of Religion; the peculiar mode of which, the pretended inspiration introduces. The ends then in question, are *reception for the policy*; or provision for the perpetual duration of it.

1. For the *reception*, there would be small need of this expedient. 1. Civil laws are seen by all to be so necessary for the well being of every individual, that one can hardly conceive any need of the belief of divine command or extraordinary assistance to bring men to embrace a scheme for associating, or to manifest the right they have of so doing. For (as the great Geographer says) *Man was born with this inclination to associate. It is an appetite common both to Greeks and Barbarians: for, being by nature a civil animal, he lives readily under one common policy or*

¹ Et non è cosa piu necessaria à parere d'havere che questa ultima qualita [religione] perche gli huomini in universale giudicano piu a gli occhi che alle mani, perché tocca à vedere a ciascuno a sentire à pochi. *Machiavel del Principe*, c. 18.

law^m. Besides several of these Legislators gave laws to a *willing people*, on the strength of their personal character of virtue and wisdom; and were called upon to that office, in which nothing was wanting to beget the necessary veneration to him who discharged it. And though it might possibly have happened to a people to be so far sunk into brutality, as to be disinclined towards the recovery of a reasonable nature, like those with whom it is said *Orpheus* had to deal; who (*being savages, without the knowledge of morality or law*) reduced them into society, by recommending to them piety to the Gods, and instructing them in the ways of superstitionⁿ: yet this was not the case of the generality of those with whom these Lawgivers were concerned: and therefore if we would assign a cause of this pretence to revelation as extensive as the fact, it must be that which is here given. But, 2^{dly}, we find, that where Religion was previously settled, no inspiration was pretended. On this account neither *Draco* nor *Solon*, Lawgivers of Athens, laid claim to any: for they found Religion well secured by the institutions of *Triptolemus* and *Ion*. And we know, that, had pretended inspiration been only, or principally, for the easier introduction and reception of civil policy, the sanguinary laws of *Draco* had stood in more need of the sanction of a revelation, than any other of antiquity. Indeed, *Maximus Tyrius* goes so far as to say, that *Draco* and *Solon* prescribed nothing in their laws, concerning the Gods, and their worship^o; which, if

^m Πέφυκε γὰρ ἔγω. Καὶ κοινόν ἐστι τῆτο καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖς Βαρ-
βάροις· πολίτικοι γὰρ ὄντες, ἀπὸ προσαίματι^o κοινὰ ζῶσιν. Strabo,
Geogr. l. xvi.

ⁿ —“Ὅτι θηριώδεις ὄντας τὴς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔτε ἔθνη, ἔτε νόμους εἰδότες,
εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν παρακαλέσας. Heraclit. de
Incred. c. 23.

^o Πᾶς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους συνιέναι, τί μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πῶς δὲ τιμῆσθαι; ὃ
γὰρ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχόντες δικασαὶ χίλιοι ταῦτα ἐξελάττωσιν, ὃ δὲ Σόλων τὸ
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέγραπται, ὃ δὲ οἱ Δράκοντι^o σεμνοὶ νόμοι. Dissert. xxxix.

true, would make as much against us, on the other hand. But in this he is mistaken. *Porphyry* quotes an express law of *Draco's* concerning the mode of divine worship. *Let the Gods and our own country heroes be publicly worshipped, according to the established rites; when privately, according to every man's abilities, with terms of the greatest regard and reverence; with the first fruits of their labours, and with annual libations*^P. *Andocides*^q quotes another of *Solon*, which provides for the due and regular celebration of the ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES. *Athenæus* does the same. And how considerable a part these were of divine worship, and of what importance to the very essence of religion, we shall see hereafter.

2. As to a provision for the perpetuity of national laws and institutions; This entered not into the intention of the old Greek legislation; nor, if it had, could it have been obtained by giving them a divine original. Amongst the wild projects of the barbarous eastern policy, one might find, perhaps, something like a system of *immutable* laws; but the Grecian Lawgivers were too well acquainted with the nature of man, the genius of Society, and the vicissitude of human things, ever to conceive so ridiculous a design. Besides, the *Egyptian* legislation, from which they borrowed all their civil wisdom, went upon very different principles. It directed public laws to be occasionally accommodated to the variety of times, places, and manners. But had they aimed at perpetuity, the belief of a divine imposition would not have served the turn; for it never entered their heads, that civil institutes became irre-

^P Θεὸς τιμᾶν καὶ Ἡρώας ἐλχάριος ἐν κοινῷ, ἐπομένως νόμοις πατρίοις, ἴδια κατὰ δύναμιν σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν, καὶ πελάγαις ἐπέλειοις. *De Abst.* 1. iv. § 22. according to the emendations of *Petit* and *Valentinus*.—The law is thus introduced, Θεῶν αἰώνιοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νομομένοις, Κύριον τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

^q *Orat.* Περὶ Μυστηρίων, apud *Decem Orat.*

vocable by their issuing from the mouth of a God ; or that the divinity of the sanction altered the mutability of their nature : the honour of this discovery is due to certain modern writers, who have found out that divine authority reduces all its commands to one and the same species. We have a notable instance of this in the conduct of *Lycurgus*. He was the only exception to the general method, and singular in the idle attempt of making his laws perpetual. For his whole system being forced and unnatural, the sense of that imperfection, it is probable, put him upon the expedient of tying them on an unwilling people. But then *he did not apply* divine authority to this purpose ; for, though he pretended to inspiration like the rest, and had his revelations from *Apollo*, yet he well knew that the authority of *Apollo* would not be thought sufficient to change the nature of positive laws : and therefore he bound the People by an oath, to observe his policy till his return from a voyage, which he had determined beforehand never to bring to that period.

Having shewn that there was no need of a pretence to revelation, for the establishment of *civil Policy*, it follows, that it was made for the sake of *Religion*.

S E C T. III.

THE SECOND step the Legislators took to propagate and establish *Religion*, was to make the general doctrine of a Providence (with which they prefaced and introduced their laws) the great sanction of their Institutes. To this, *Plutarch*, in his tract against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*, refers, where he observes, that *Colotes* himself praises it ; that, in civil Institutes, the first and most important article is the belief of the Gods. And so it was (says he) that, with vows, oaths, divinations, and omens, *Lycurgus* sanctified

tified the Lacedemonians, Numa the Romans, ancient Ion the Athenians, and Deucalion all the Greeks in general: And by HOPES and FEARS kept up amongst them the awe and reverence of religion^r. On this practice was formed the precept of the celebrated Archytas the Pythagorean; which sect, as we shall see hereafter, gave itself up more professedly to legislation; and produced the most famous founders of civil policy. This Lawgiver in the fragments of his work *de lege*, preserved by Stobæus, delivers himself in this manner: *The first law of the Constitution should be for the support of what relates to the Gods, the Dæmons and our Parents, and, in general, of whatsoever is good and venerable^s*. And in this manner, if we may believe Antiquity, all their civil Institutes were prefaced; its constant phrase being, when speaking of a Lawgiver, ΔΙΕΚΟΣΜΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ.

The only things of this kind now remaining, are the PREFACES to the laws of ZALEUCUS and CHARONDAS, Lawgivers of the Locrians and of the Chalcidic cities of Italy and Sicily, contemporaries with Lycurgus^t. These, by good fortune, are preserved in Diodorus and Stobæus. A great Critic has indeed arraigned their authority; declared them spurious; and adjudged them for an imposture of the Ptolemaic Age^u. And were it as he supposes, the fragments would be rather stronger to our purpose: for, in that case, we must needs conclude, the very

^r — Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἥς γε καὶ Κολώτης ἐπαινεῖ διαλέξεως τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ἔστιν ἡ περὶ θεῶν δόξα, καὶ μέγιστον ἢ καὶ Λυκῦργος Λακεδαιμονίης, καὶ Νῦμας Ῥωμαίης, καὶ Ἴων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Δευκαλίων Ἑλλήνας ὁμᾶ τοὺς πάντας καθωσίωσαν. εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅρκοις, καὶ μαντεύμασι, καὶ φήμασι, ἐμπαιθεῖς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δι' ἐλπίδων ἅμα καὶ φόβων καλᾶσθαι.

^s Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαίμονας καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι. Stob. *de Rep.* Serm. xli.

^t Arist. *Pol.* xii.

^u *Dissert. on the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the objections of Mr. Boyle.*

learned SOPHISTS who forged them had copied from the general practice of antiquity: And that very learned they were, appears both from the excellence of the composition, and the age of the pretended composers. Whereas, if the fragments be genuine, they do not so directly prove the *universality*, as the *antiquity*, of the practice. But as my aim is truth, and truth seeming to bear hard against this learned Critic's determination, we must hold to the common opinion, and examine what hath been offered in discredit of it.

The universal current of antiquity runs in favour of these remains, and for the reality of their author's legislative quality. Aristotle, Theophrastus, Tully, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch, the most learned and inquisitive writers of their several ages, declare for their being genuine. However, TIMÆUS thought fit to deny that *Zaleucus* had given laws to the *Locrians*; nay, that there was ever such a Lawgiver existing. We shall be the less surprised at this paradox, when we come to know the character and studies of the man: he was by profession an historian, but turned his talents to invent, to aggravate, and expose the faults and errors of all preceding writers of name and reputation. Polybius, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, three of the wisest and most candid historians of Greece, have concurred to draw him in the most odious colours. The first speaks of him in this manner: *How he came to be placed amongst the principal writers of history, I know not.—He deserves neither credit nor pardon of any one; having so manifestly transgressed all the rules of decency and decorum in his excessive calumnies, springing from an innate malignity of heart*^w. This envious rabid

^w Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκφέρεται δόξαν, ὥς ἔλκωντὴν τέττε συγγραφέως προ-
 σασίαν,—Εκεῖν' δ' ἂν οὐκ εἰκότως τυγχάνοι συγνώμης καὶ πίστεως ὑπ'
 ἑδενός, διὰ τὸ προφανῶς ἐν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐκπύειν τὴν καθήκοντος, διὰ τὸν
 ἑμφύλιον πικρίαν. Excerpt. ex l. xii. Hist.

temper, joined to a perversity of mind, delighting in contradiction, gained him the title of EPITIMÆUS, the CALUMNIATOR. And, what is a certain mark of a base and abject heart, he was as excessive in his flattery; as when he makes *Timoleon greater than the greatest Gods*^x. He took so much pleasure in contradicting the most received truths, that he wrote a long treatise, with great fury and ill language, to prove that the bull of Phalaris was a mere fable. And yet Diodorus and Polybius, who tell us this, tell us likewise, that the very bull itself was existing in their time: To all which, he was so little solicitous about truth, that Suidas says, he was nick-named ΓΡΑΟΣΥΛΛΕΚΤΡΙΑ, a composer of old wives fables. Polybius informs us with what justice it was given him. In censuring the faults of others, he puts on such an air of severity and confidence, as if he himself were exempt from failings, and stood in no need of indulgence. Yet are his own histories stuffed with dreams and prodigies, with the most wild and improbable fables. In short, full of old wives wonders, and of the lowest and basest superstition^y. Agreeable to all this, Clemens Alexandrinus gives him as the very pattern of a fabulous and satyric writer. And he appeared in every respect of so ill a character to Mr. Bayle, that this excellent Critic did not scruple to say, that, “in all appearance, he had no better authority when he denied that *Zaleucus* had given laws to the *Locrians*^z.” To say all in a word, he was the *OLDMIXON*^a of the Greeks; and yet this

^x Suidas in *Timæo*. Τίμαιος δὲ μείζω ποιεῖν Τιμολέοντα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Θεῶν.

^y Οὗτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν πέλας κατηγορίαις πολλὴν ἐπιφαίνει δεινότην καὶ τόλμαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀποφάσεσιν ἐνυπνίων καὶ τερατῶν καὶ μυθῶν ἀπιθάνων, καὶ συλλήβδην καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννῆς καὶ τερατείας; γυναικῶδες εἰς ὅλην. Excerpt. de *Virt. & Vit.* ex l. xii

^z Et apparemment il ne fut pas mieux fondé, quand il nia que *Zaleucus* eût donné des loix à ce peuple, [les *Locriens*.]

^a See *Clarendon and Whitlock compared*.

is the man, whom the learned writer hath thought fit to oppose to all antiquity, against *Zaleucus's* legislation and existence. It appears the more extraordinary, because he himself hath furnished his reader with a violent presumption against Timæus's authority, where he says ^b, *That Polybius charges him with false representations relating to the Locrians.* He adds indeed, *that nothing is now extant that shews Polybius thought Timæus mistaken concerning Zaleucus.* But since Polybius quotes a law as a law of *Zaleucus*, it seems a proof, in so exact a writer, of his being well assured that, amongst Timæus's falsehoods concerning the *Locrians*, one was his denying *Zaleucus* to be their Lawgiver.

Timæus's reasons are not come down to us from Antiquity: But the fragments of Polybius ^c, mentioning his outrageous treatment of Aristotle concerning the origin of the *Locrians*, speak of one Echecrates a *Locrian*, from whom Timæus boasted he had received information on certain points in question: Hence the learned Critic, as it would seem, concludes this to have been a part of the *Locrian's* intelligence, *that there was no such man as Zaleucus* ^d. As if, because Timæus relied on Echecrates's information in the dispute between him and Aristotle, therefore Echecrates must, of necessity, support all his paradoxes concerning that people. But admit Echecrates to have been of the same opinion with Timæus, in this matter; Is he, who, for aught we know, might be as singular and as whimsical, in his love of contradiction, as Timæus himself, an evidence to be opposed to Cicero's? who tells us, that his Clients the *Locrians* had, in his time, a Tradition of *Zaleucus's* legislation ^e. And

^b *Dissert. upon Phalaris*, p. 337.

^c *Excerpta ex Polybio de Virt. & Vitiis*, ex l. xii.

^d P. 336. *Dissert. upon Phalaris*.

^e *De Legibus*, l. ii. c. 6.

we may well presume, that Cicero, inquisitive, and even curious, as he was in matters of antiquity, would examine this point with care: and, had their archives reclaimed it, he had hardly thought it worth his while to mention their Tradition. But, says the learned Critic, if Echecrates, in that age, did not believe there was any Zaleucus, he is certainly as credible as Cicero's Locrians, who came so many generations afterwards, after so many revolutions and changes in their Government^f. This reasoning has small force, because, from the same premises, we may argue just the other way, and say, that if the Tradition kept its ground through all those changes and revolutions of State, it would seem to have had a very strong foundation.

The authority then of Timæus against the existence and legislation of Zaleucus in general, is of no weight. Let us next see what the learned Critic hath to urge against the authenticity of those laws which go under Zaleucus's name. His arguments are of two sorts: the one drawn from the *dialect*, and from the use of several words, which are indeed later than his time; the other, from Zaleucus's being no Pythagorean.

I. The words objected to, are these, — *Λεπιδὸς καὶ παχείας — ἰσομιλήσιον — Κόσμον — Τραγωδίαις*. This, and the fragments being written in the common *dialect*, instead of the *Doric*, are, in the Critic's opinion, sufficient evidence of the forgery.

He has employed a deal of good^g learning, to prove the words to be all later than the time of Zaleucus.

Let us see then the most that can be made of this sort of argument. And because it is the best approved, and readiest at hand, for the detection of

^f P. 336. *Dissert. upon Phalaris*.

^g From p. 346 to 356 of the *Dissert.*

forgery, and supposed by some not a little to affect the sacred writings themselves, we will enquire into its force in general.

It must be owned, that an instrument offered as the writing of any certain person, or age, which hath words or phrases posterior to its date, carries with it the decisive marks of forgery. A public Deed, or Diploma, so discredited, is lost for ever. And to such, was this canon of criticism first applied with great success. This encouraged following critics to try it on writings of another kind; and then, for want of a reasonable distinction, they began to make very wild work indeed. For though in compositions of *abstract speculation*, or of *mere fancy and amusement*, this touch might be applied with tolerable security, there being, for the most part, no occasion or temptation to alter the diction of such writings, especially in the ancient languages, which suffered small and slow change, because one sort of these works was only for the use of a few learned men; and the principal rarity, and often the beauty, of the other sort, consisted in the original phrase; yet in public and practical writings of Law and Religion, this would be found a very fallacious test: It was the matter only which was regarded here. And, as the matter respected the whole people, it was of importance that the words and phrases should be neither obscure, ambiguous, nor equivocal: This would necessitate alterations in the style, both as to words and phrases. Hence it appears to me, that the answer, which commentators give to the like objection against the PENTATEUCH, is founded in good sense, and fully justified by the solution here attempted. The Religion, Law, and History of the Jews were incorporated; and, consequently, it was the concern of every one to understand the Scriptures. Nor doth the superstitious regard, well known to have been long paid to the

words,

words, and even letters of scripture, at all weaken the force of this argument: for that superstition arose but from the time when the masoret doctors fixed the reading, and added the vowel points. I have taken the opportunity, the subject afforded me, to touch upon this matter, because it is the only argument of moment, urged by Spinoza, against the antiquity of the *Pentateuch*; on which antiquity the general argument of this work is supported.

The application of all this is very easy to the case in hand: The fragment of *Zaleucus* was part of a body of Laws, which the people were obliged to understand; so that a change of old words and obsolete phrases would be necessary: and to make *this* an argument against the antiquity of the fragment, would be the same good reasoning as to suppose, that the remains of the *Twelve Tables*, or the earlier laws in our common *Statute books*, were the forgeries of later times, because full of words unknown to the respective ages in which those laws were composed and enacted. But, indeed, the change of obscure words, or obsolete phrases, for others more clear and intelligible, was a common practice amongst the Pagan writers. Porphyry, making a collection of heathen oracles, professes to have given them just as he found them, without the least alteration; except, says he, changing an obscure word, now and then, for one more clear: a practice, which, for its fairness and frequency, he ranks with amending a corrupted word, or reforming the metre^h. But this licence was not confined to the Ancients; for, being encouraged by the reason of things, it was likely enough (as is, in fact, the case) that all times should

^h ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τι θεὸς μαρτύρομαι, ὡς εἶδεν ἔτε προσέθεικα, ἔτε ἀφείλον τῶν χρησθέντων νοημάτων· εἰ μὴ περ λέξιν ἡμαρτημένην διώρθωσα, ἢ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΦΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΕΒΛΗΚΑ, ἢ τὸ μέλλον ἐλλείπον ἀνεπλήρωσα, ἢ τι τῶν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν συλλεινόντων διέγραψα. *Porph. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 7.*

afford examples of it. One of the editors of *Froisart*, speaking of his author's text, says, "touchant le stile, & ancienne maniere d'escire de nostre auteur, je ne doute point qu'il n'ayt esté quelques autrefois changé & aucunement renouvelé selon les tempsⁱ." All the Editions of Jomville's life of St. Louis bear testimony to the same practice; which was so general that Pasquier says, "s'il y eut un bon livre composé par nos Ancêtres, lorsqu'il fut question de le transcrire, les Copistes le copioient non selon la naïve langue de l'Auteur, ains selon la leur^k."

As to the change of *dialekt*, the great Critic thus expresses himself: *The last argument I shall offer against the Laws of Zaleucus, is this, that the Preface of them, which Stobæus has produced, is written in the common dialekt, whereas, it ought to be in the Doric, for that was the language of the Locri.—The laws of Zaleucus therefore are commentitious, because they are not in Doric^l.*

What hath been said above will shew this argument to have small force; but it is urged with a peculiar ill grace by the learned Critic, who, in his *dissertation upon Phalaris*, hath discovered, that Ocellus Lucanus wrote the treatise *Of the nature of the universe* in Doric^m: and from thence rightly concludes, it ought to be acknowledged for a genuine work, which hitherto learned men have doubted of, from this very business of its being writ in the common *dialekt*. For we now see that every word of the true book is faithfully preserved; the Doric being only changed into the ordinary language, at the fancy of some copierⁿ. Now, surely, the rash suspicions of those learned men in the case of Ocellus Lucanus, should have made him more cautious in indulging

ⁱ Denis Sauvage, *Avertissement aux Lecteurs*.

^k Rech. L. viii. c. 3.

^l P. 135, and 358.

^m P. 47.

ⁿ P. 49.

his own. He should have concluded, if this liberty was taken with books of mere speculation, it was more likely to be indulged in works so necessary to be understood as a body of laws; especially when he had observed (after Porphyry) *that the Doric is always clouded with obscurity* °.

Hence, doubtless, *trans-dialecting* was no rare practice. For, besides this instance of Ocellus Lucanus, we have another, in the poems going under the name of Orpheus: which, Jamblichus says, were written in the *doric* dialect. But now the fragments of these poems, left us by those who did not write in *Doric*, are in the common dialect. It is plain then, they have been *trans-dialected*.

2. The learned Critic's other argument for the imposture runs thus: *The Report of Zaleucus being a Pythagorean, was gathered from some passages in the system of laws ascribed to him, for where else could they meet with it? so that, if it can be proved he was more ancient than Pythagoras, this false story of his being a Pythagorean being taken from that system, must convict it of being a cheat* P. He then proceeds to prove him more ancient than Pythagoras; which he does, on the whole, with great force of learning and reasoning, though his arguments are not all equally well chosen. As where he brings this for a proof that *Zaleucus* was no scholar of Pythagoras, "Because he ascribed all his laws to Minerva, "from whom he pretended to receive them in "dreams: which (in the learned Critic's opinion) "has nothing of a Pythagorean in it. For Pythagoras's scholars ascribed every thing to their master: "it was always αὐτὸς ἔφα with them, *he said it*. Therefore if *Zaleucus* had been of that society, he would "certainly have honoured his master, by imputing his "laws to his instructions ^q." But this argument is

° P. 317.

P P. 337.

q P. 338.

of no weight: for, 1. From what has been said above of the genius of ancient legislation, it appears, that the general practice required, and the nature of the thing disposed the Lawgiver to ascribe his laws to the inspiration of some God. 2. As to the famous *αὐτὸς ἔφα*, it was not peculiar to the Pythagoreans, but common to all the sects of Greece, *jurare in verba magistri*. A device to keep them distinct and separate from each other; and a compendious way of arguing amongst those of the same school. It would then have been ridiculous to have urged its authority to any out of the sect; more so, to the common people; and most of all, to them, upon public and practical matters; the *αὐτὸς ἔφα* being used only in points of speculation, and in the schools of philosophy. Indeed, so unlucky is this argument, that, on the contrary, the reader will be apt to conclude, that this very circumstance of *Zaleucus's* ascribing his laws to Minerva, was one of the things that gave rise and credit to the report of his being a Pythagorean. And, doubtless, it would have much weight with those who did not carefully enough attend to the chronology. For *Zaleucus*, in this, might be thought to follow both the example and the precept of Pythagoras, who himself pretended to be inspired by Minerva; and taught it to his scholars as the most efficacious way of establishing civil justice, *to propagate the opinion of the Gods having an intimate intercourse with mankind*.

But notwithstanding the defect of this argument, the learned critic, as we said, proves his point with great clearness, that *Zaleucus* was earlier than Pythagoras: and, in conclusion, draws the inference abovementioned, in these terms: *It was generally reported Zaleucus was a Pythagorean; it is proved he was not. This will refute the book itself. For if any*

* See *Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras*.

intimation was given in the book, that the author was a Pythagorean, the imposture is evident. “And yet it is hard to give any other reason, that should induce the later writers to call him a Pythagorean.” Some impostor, therefore, made a system of laws under the name of Zaleucus, and in it gave a broad hint that he was a scholar of Pythagoras.

Here he rests his point. If, then, it be not hard to give another reason, that should induce the later writers to call him a Pythagorean, his long discourse to prove Zaleucus the earlier of the two, is of no kind of use to convict the pretended laws of imposture. I have already hinted at another not improbable reason, which was his having the same inspiring Goddess with Pythagoras: And this will be much strengthened by the observation, that Minerva became the peculiar patroness of the Pythagorean Lawgivers, on account of the assistance she had given to their master. To which we may add these further circumstances, that the laws were in *Doric* (and supposing them genuine, they certainly were so) which idiom was peculiar to the Pythagoric school:

* This we are told by *Jamblichus*: his words are, λέγεται τοῖς οὖν ὡς φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρίᾳ ἐκάστοις πατριγενέλλον, *Vit. Pythag.* 194. *Kust. Ed.* Dr. Bentley understands them to signify, that every one should use his own mother-tongue. And, indeed, without reading the context, one could scarce avoid giving this sense to the passage. *VIZZANIUS*,—that every one should use the mother-tongue of *Crotona*; which was the *Doric*. Of these, the learned Critic says, which is the true, perhaps all competent readers will not be of one mind, p. 386. But I believe there will be no great difference of opinions amongst those who weigh the following reasons: 1. *Jamblichus* adds, τὸ γὰρ ἐνέζειν ἐκ ἐδοκίμαζον; by which I understand him to mean, that the Pythagoric sect did not approve of a foreign or stranger dialect. For if he meant, not the sect in general, but the particulars of which it was composed, the several provincial Greeks who entered into it, no dialect could be called foreign to one or other of them: if he meant the Sect, which we may suppose had a dialect peculiar and consecrated to the Community, all, but that, was foreign to it; and the expression becomes proper and pertinent. 2. *Jamblichus*, in the same place, and,

and, that the whole proem of *Zaleucus's* laws was formed agreeably to the precepts of Pythagoras in this matter; who directs, that, next after the word tells us, that Pythagoras valued the *Doric* above the other greek Dialects, as most agreeable to the laws of harmony, Τὴν δὲ Δωρικὴν διάλεκτον ἑναρμονίαν εἶναι: Now having made the essence of the soul to be harmony, it was no wonder he should chuse a dialect, which he supposed approached nearest to its nature; that the mind and tongue might go together. 3. Pythagoras seems here to have imitated his master Orpheus, from whom, as we shall see hereafter, he borrowed much of his philosophy; for Jamblichus tells us, that the old writings that went under the name of Orpheus, were composed in *Doric*. 4. But, lastly, a passage in Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, seems alone sufficient to determine this matter: Porphyry giving the causes of the decay of the Pythagoric philosophy, assigns this for one, that *their commentaries were written in Doric*. "Ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα Δωρίδι γεγράφθαι, p. 49. *Kust. Ed.* This is the clearest comment on the words in question, and determines them to the sense contended for. One would wonder, indeed, that so learned a Critic could take them in any other. But the secret was this, Dr. Bentley having pretended to discover, that Ocellus Lucanus did not write his book in the common dialect, as it is now extant, but in *Doric*; (*Dissert. upon Phalaris*, &c. p. 47.) his adversaries (*Dissert. examined*, p. 54.) charge him with having stolen this discovery from *Vizzanius*. This, Dr. Bentley flatly denies; (*Dissert. defended*, p. 384.) But the only proof he gives of his innocence, is, that the greek passage, quoted above from Jamblichus, on which both he and *Vizzanius* had founded their discoveries, is differently translated by them. "The thing, as I said it (says the Dr.) is thus; the *Pythagoreans* enjoined all the *Greeks* that entered themselves into the society, to use every man his mother tongue (φωνὴν χρησθῆναι τῇ πατρίᾳ.) Ocellus, therefore, being a *Dorian* of *Lucania*, must have writ in the *Doric*. This I took to be Jamblichus's meaning. But *Vizzanius* has represented it thus: that they enjoined all that came to them to use the mother-tongue of Crotona, which was the *Doric*.—Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true meaning of Jamblichus, perhaps all competent readers will not be of a mind." The diffidence of this conclusion would make one suspect the Dr. was now convinced, that *Vizzanius's* was the right meaning. Yet, I will venture to say, that the words of Jamblichus, as quoted by *Vizzanius* without the context, would have been understood by every man, skilled, as Dr. Bentley was, in Greek, in the different sense he has given to them. From whence I conclude, that, when Dr. Bentley wrote his *Dissertation on Phalaris*, he had seen the words of Jamblichus no where but in *Vizzanius*.

ship of the Gods, *Dæmon*, and *Parent* worship should be enjoined^t. Now, later writers, seeing these two visible marks of a Pythagorean, might, without further reflexion, be reasonably disposed to think *Zaleucus* of that sect. But, as the learned critic has well made out, from sure chronological evidence, that this was a mistake, we must seek for some other cause of the uniformity between them; which I take to be this: *Zaleucus*, when Pythagoras flourished, was in the highest repute in Greece for legislation; which might incline this philosopher to imitate him, both in his inspiring Goddess, and in the proem of his laws: so that posterity only mistook the copy for the original. This they might very well do; for Pythagoras and his sect had soon engrossed all the glory in the practice of lawgiving: and this leads me to another probable cause of the common opinion of *Zaleucus*'s being a Pythagorean: The character of this sect, as will be seen hereafter, was so great for legislation, that after-ages thought nothing could be done to purpose in that way, which had not a Pythagorean for its author. So, besides *Zaleucus*, the ancients supposed Charondas, Numa^u, Zamolxis^w, Phytius, Theocles, Elicaon, Aristocrates, nay the very DRUIDS^x, the legislators of Gaul, and, in a word, all the eminent Lawgivers who lived any where about the time of Pythagoras, to be instructed by him. But will the learned Critic say, that, *therefore*, all these Legislators were imaginary persons, and did not give laws to their several cities? This notion, arising from Pythagoras's great charac-

^t Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θεῖον τε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, πλεῖστον ποιεῖσθαι λόγον γονέων.
Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xxx.

^u Quinetiam arbitror propter *Pythagoreorum* admirationem, Numam quoque regem *Pythagoreum* à posterioribus existimatum.
Tul. Tusc. Disp. lib. iv. c. i.

^w *Herod.* lib. iv.

^x *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 9.

ter and reputation, was nursed up and improved by his followers themselves, to beget honour to their master; as, in fact, appears from several passages in Jamblichus's life of that Philosopher. So that was there no more in it than this; as *Zaleucus's* Institutions were in great repute, we might very naturally account for the mistake.

But, lastly, it is, indeed, very true, (as the learned Critic suspected) that the principal ground of the report of *Zaleucus* being a Pythagorean, was from some passages in the system of laws ascribed to him. He is only too hasty in his conclusion, that therefore these must needs convict the system of a cheat. What hurried him on, was his supposing, that no such report could be gathered from passages in the system, but such as must be an intimation that the author was a Pythagorean: and that there is no difference between giving and taking an intimation. If, then, this report might be gathered from passages which contained no intimation, and if the reader might understand that to be such which the writer never intended; the consequence will be, that the credit of these fragments will remain unshaken, though we grant the learned Critic his whole premises, and all the facts he contends for.

It seems, then, to be certain, that the report of *Zaleucus's* being a Pythagorean arose principally from a passage in his system of laws. And it is not difficult to discover what it was. *Zaleucus* in his preface speaks of an EVIL GENIUS or *Dæmon*, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ, as influencing men to wickedness. This, though a notion of the highest antiquity, whose origin and author are much disputed, yet became at

^γ Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι (Μάγους) τῶν Ἀγυπρίων καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἀρχαίς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ. *Diog. Laert. Vit. Phil. Proœm. Seg. 8.*

length the distinguishing doctrine of the Pythagoreans. Plutarch, speaking of Pythagoras's opinion of the first principle, says, that that philosopher called the *Monad*, God, and *Duad*, the EVIL GENIUS^z. Which *Duad* the Pythagoreans used extremely to vilify, as the cause of all evil, under the name of the BAD PRINCIPLE, as Plutarch would make us believe^a. The application of this doctrine I suppose Pythagoras might borrow from *Zaleucus*, and here again posterity be mistaken only in the original author. However, we may collect from the same Plutarch, that that opinion was cultivated by all the ancient Lawgivers. For this learned man, who favoured the notion of TWO PRINCIPLES, the one good, the other evil, affects, I observe, to draw every ancient writer, who but mentions an *evil dæmon*, into his own sect. In his treatise of Isis and Osiris, he speaks to this purpose, “ That it was a most ancient “ opinion, delivered as well by LAWGIVERS as Di-

Οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῶν ΠΑΝΤ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ τῶν ἀτοπώτατον ἀναγκασθῶμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονῆναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀνίσταμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπαίγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλλοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν· ὡς μὴ διαμείναντες ἀπλῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, βελτίον^Θ ἐκείνων μοίρας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσιν. *Plut. Vita Dionis.*

^z Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεόν, καὶ τ' ἀγαθόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τῆ ἐνός φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νῆς· τὴν δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα, ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ, καὶ τὸ ΚΑΚΟΝ, περὶ ἣν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑλικόν πλῆθος. *De Plac. Phil. lib. i. c. 7. p. 1624. E. S.*

^a Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλειόνων ὀνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι, τῆ μὲν ἀγαθῆς τὸ ἐν πεπερασμένον, τὸ μένον, τὸ εὐθύ, τὸ περισσόν, τὸ τελέγωνον, τὸ δεξιόν, τὸ λαμπρόν· τῆ δὲ ΚΑΚΟΥ, τὴν ΔΥΑΔΑ, τὸ ἀπειρον, τὸ φερόμενον, τὸ καμπύλον, τὸ ἄρριον, τὸ ἑτερόμηκες, τὸ ἀνισον, τὸ ἀριστερόν, τὸ σκολεινόν· ὥστε ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας. *Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣΙΡ. p. 660. St. Ed.* I suppose the reason, why *Duads* was amongst the ill names said to be given by the Pythagoreans, to the *bad principle*, was, because, in their superstitious designations of the various qualities of numbers, this *Duads* is very heavily loaded. Ὅτι ἡ μὲν ΜΟΝΑΣ κατὰ τὴν ἰσότητά καὶ τὸ μέτρον λαμβάνεται· ἡ δὲ ΔΥΑΣ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἑλλειψιν. *Anon. de Vita Pythag. apud Photium.*

“ vines, that the world was neither made by Chance,
 “ neither did one Cause govern all things, without
 “ opposition^b.”

This notion therefore, delivered in the proem of *Zaleucus's* law, might be very well *taken* for an *intimation of the author's being a Pythagorean*, and yet, not being so *given*, it has not the least tendency to discredit the compilation.

On the whole then, I presume, it appears, that the credit of these remains stands unshaken by any thing the learned Critic has advanced to the contrary; and that we may safely produce them as of the antiquity they lay claim to.

Thus *Zaleucus* begins his preface: “ Every inhabitant, whether of town or country, should first
 “ of all be firmly persuaded of the being and existence of the Gods: which belief he will be readily
 “ induced to entertain, when he contemplates the
 “ heavens, regards the world, and observes the disposition, order, and harmony of the universe;
 “ which can neither be the work of blind chance, nor of man. These Gods are to be worshipped as the
 “ cause of all the real good we enjoy. Every one
 “ therefore should so purify, and possess his mind, as to have it clear of all kinds of evil; being persuaded that God is not honoured by a wicked person, nor acceptably served, like miserable man, with sumptuous ceremonies, or taken with costly sacrifices, but with Virtue only, and a constant disposition to good and just actions. On which account, every one should labour all he can to become good, both in practice and principle, whereby he will render himself dear and acceptable to God; should fear more that which leads to igno-

^b Διὸ καὶ παντάλαιοι αὕτη καίττεισιν ἐκ Θεολόγων καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ — ὡς ἔστ' ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλογόν καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, ἔτε εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ κραίων καὶ καλεωθύνων, ὥσπερ οἶαζεν ἢ τισὶ πειθηνίοις χαλινοῖς λόγῳ.

“ miny and dishonour, than that which leads to loss
 “ of wealth and fortune; and esteem him the best
 “ Citizen, who gives up his worldly goods, rather
 “ than renounce his honesty and love of justice: But
 “ those, whose headstrong appetites will not suffer
 “ them to be restrained within the limits of these
 “ things, and whose hearts are turned with a natural
 “ bias towards evil, whether they be men or women,
 “ citizens or sojourners, should be told, to have the
 “ Gods always in mind, to think upon their nature,
 “ and of the judgments they have in store for wicked
 “ men; to *set before themselves the dreadful hour of*
 “ *death*, a period they must all arrive at; *when the*
 “ *memory of evil actions past will seize the sinner with*
 “ *remorse, accompanied with the fruitless wish, that he*
 “ *had submitted his actions to the rules of justice.* Every
 “ one, therefore, should so watch over his behavi-
 “ our, *as if that hour were still present with him*, and
 “ attended all his motions: which will be the way
 “ to keep up in himself an exact regard to right and
 “ justice. BUT IF THE WICKED DEMON BE IN-
 “ STANT TO INFLUENCE HIM TO EVIL, let him
 “ fly to the altars and temples of the Gods, as the
 “ surest asylum from that cruelest and wickedest of
 “ tyrants, EVIL, and implore their assistance to drive
 “ her far from him. To this end, let him also have
 “ recourse to those, whose reputations are high for
 “ probity and virtue^c; whom he may hear discourse
 “ of the happiness of good, and the vengeance at-
 “ tending evil men^d.”

^c Meaning the men set apart for the service of religion, such as Virgil describes in his Elysium,

Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat;

Quique pii vates & Phoëbo digna locuti.

Which not only shews the Legislator's sense of their use, but of the necessity of their practising what they teach to others.

^d Τῆς καλοικῆναιας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, πάντας περὶ αὐτὸν πεπεισθαι χρὴ, καὶ νομίζειν θεὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἀναβλέποντας εἰς ἕρανόν, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διακόσμησιν, καὶ τάξιν· ὃ γὰρ τύχης, ὃ δ' ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δῆ-

One would wonder, that any man, who had attentively considered this admirable fragment, could think it the forgery of a Sophist. It is plain, the author of it understood human nature and society at another rate. He hath not only given us an exact portrait of natural Religion; but, in applying it to the State, hath explained the use and subserviency of its parts to the three great classes of mankind. He hath recommended the intrinsic excellence of virtue, and compliance with the *Will* and example of the Gods, to those who are of so ingenuous and well-framed a nature as to be always disposed to embrace truth and right: to others, of a less heroic turn of mind, such who idolize their *honour*, he holds out fame and ignominy, as the inseparable attendants of good and evil actions: and, to the common run of more intractable and perverse tempers, he preaches up the doctrine of *future rewards and punishments*°.

μυρεθήματα· σέβεισθαι δὲ τέττας καὶ τιμᾶν, ὡς αἰτίαις ὄντας ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῶν κατὰ λόγον γινόμενων. Ἐκαστον ἔν ἔχειν καὶ παρασκευάζειν δεῖ τὴν αὐτῆ ψυχὴν, πάντων τῶν κακῶν καθαράν· ὡς καὶ τιμᾶται θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, εὐδὲ θεραπεύεται δαπάναις, εὐδὲ τραγωδίαις τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ καὶ προαιρέσει τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων. Διὸ ἕκαστον δεῖ εἰς δύναμιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πράξει καὶ προαιρέσει τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι δεοφιλή· καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὰς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς αἰσχύνην τεινόντων· καὶ πολίτην ἀμείνονα ὀνομάζειν τὸν τὴν εὐσίαν προΐεμενον μᾶλλον τῷ καλῷ καὶ δικαίῳ· ὅσοις δὲ μὴ ῥαδίον πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν ὁρμὴν πεπεισθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἔχουσιν εὐκίνητον πρὸς ἀδικίαν ὥδ' ἡμῶν παρεγγέλθω· πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις πολίταις, καὶ πολίταις καὶ ξυνοικοῖς μεμνησθαι θεῶν ὡς ὄντων, καὶ δίκας ἐπιπεμπόων τοῖς ἀδικοῖς· καὶ τίθεσθαι πρὸ ὁρμάτων τὸν καιρὸν τέτον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται τὸ τέλος· ἕκαστω τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῷ ζῆν, πᾶσι γὰρ ἐμπίπτει μεταμέλεια τοῖς μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν, μεμνημένοις ὧν ἀδικήκασιν, καὶ ὁρμὴ τῷ βάλεισθαι πάντα πεπραχθαι δικαίως αὐτοῖς. Διὸ δεῖ ἕκαστον παρ' ἑκάστην πράξει αἰεὶ συναινεῖν τὸν καιρὸν τέτον, ὡς δὴ παρόντα· ἔτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τῷ καλῷ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ φρονεῖν· εἰάν δὲ τῷ παραστῇ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ πρέπων πρὸς ἀδικίαν, διαλέγεται πρὸς ναοῖς καὶ βωμοῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν, φεύγοντα τὴν ἀδικίαν, ὡς δέσποιναν ἀσεβειᾶς καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐκείνουσα τοὺς θεοὺς συναπολέπειν αὐτήν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας δόξαν ἔχοντας ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ ἀκροσμεῖν· περὶ εὐδαίμων· βίᾳ, καὶ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμωρίας ἵνα ἀπολέπη τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων. Apud Stobæum, Serm. xlii.

° Some have affected not to understand, where it is, in the foregoing passage, that Zaleucus inculcates this doctrine. The

I will

I will only observe, it appears to have been from hence, that POMPONATIUS borrowed the beautiful passage, which is quoted at large, in the first book of this discourse.

Thus ZALEUCUS. And much in the same fashion does CHARONDAS introduce his Laws.

In imitation of this practice, PLATO likewise, and CICERO both preface their *Laws* with the sanctions of Religion. And though these two great men were not, strictly speaking, Lawgivers in form; yet we

place, methinks, was not hard to find: it is, where *wicked men* are bid to set before themselves the dreadful hour of death. For how should a picture of this scene allure men to virtue, or deter them from vice, but as it opens to them a view of those rewards and punishments they are just going to receive. Hence, too, we learn what those *hopes and fears* were, which Plutarch, in the passage p. 164, says the *ancient lawgivers* impressed upon the minds of the people, to keep up the awe and reverence of religion: for Plato assures us it was their general practice, to inculcate the distinction between soul and body; and to teach, that, at their separation, the soul survived the body; and this, says he, we should believe upon their word, unless we would be thought to be out of our senses.—πιστεύειν δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΟΥΣΙ ταυτὸ ἔτι εἶναι, ὥστε μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνωνται. *De Legg. lib. xi.* But, in his next book, he informs us, more at large, why the ancient Lawgivers inculcated that *distinction*. It was, in order to build upon it the belief of a *future state of rewards and punishments*: for he says, the Lawgivers were to be believed, when they teach the total difference between soul and body, that the former is immortal, and that when it is on the point of departing for the regions of immortality (where it must give an account of its conduct in the body) the good man will meet death with courage and constancy, and the evil man with affright and terror. And then takes occasion to mention the punishments reserved for the latter: πείθεσθαι δ' ἐστὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ χρεῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ λέγοντι ψυχὴν σώματι εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρεισαν.—τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὅλως ἀθάνατον εἶναι, ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον, παρὰ θεῶς ἄλλας ἀπιέναι δώσουσιν λόγον, καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πατριῷ λέγει, τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ δαρδραλέον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερόν.—ἀτιμώτης δ' ἂν κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγγίγναι τῶν μὲν τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον. And here let me observe, that Plato, in the words τῷ ἀγαθῷ δαρδραλέον, &c. seems to have had the very passage of Zaleucus in his eye, τίθεσθαι πρὸ ὁμμάτων τὸν καιρὸν τῆτον, &c.—But this cavil had been obviated, Sect. I. of this Second Book, p. 142.

are not to suppose that what they wrote in this science, was like the dreams of the Sophists, for the amusement of the idle and curious. They were both well practised in affairs, and deeply conversant in human nature; and they formed their speculative Institutes on the plan, and in the spirit and views of ancient legislation: the foundation of Plato's being the *Attic Laws*; and the foundation of Cicero's, the *Twelve Tables*: who himself takes care to warn us of this particular. “ In imitation of Plato, the most
 “ learned, and, at the same time, the wisest of the
 “ philosophers, who wrote best ^f of a republic, and
 “ likewise, separately, of the laws thereof, I think
 “ it will be proper, before I give the law itself^g, to
 “ say somewhat in recommendation of it: which, I

^f I read here, with Turnebus, *qui princeps de rep. conscripsit*. Lambin objects to this reading, because we gather from Aristotle, that *Plato was not the first who wrote of a republic*; he supposing *princeps* signified *primus*, whereas it means *optimus*. This was Tully's opinion of Plato, as may be gathered, from many places in his writings. And in this sense Turnebus, without doubt, understood the word; a sense familiar to his author, as in *Ver.* lib. iv. cap. 49. “ in qua [*Patria*] multis virtutibus & beneficiis
 “ floruit PRINCEPS.” But the word *primus* itself is sometimes used in *this* sense of *princeps*; as in Virgil,

Prima quod ad Trojam——

^g “ Ut priusquam ipsam *legem* recitem, de ejus legis *laude*
 “ dicam.” This passage is not without its difficulty. If by *LEX* be meant the whole system of his laws, which the tenor of the discourse leads one to suppose; then, by *LAUS*, the *recommendation* of it, we are to understand his shewing, as he does in the following chapter, that the Gods interested themselves very much in the observance of civil laws; which implies, that they were indeed their laws: and so Tully calls them, in the 4th chapter of this book: “ Ita principem legem illam, & ultimam, mentem esse
 “ dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis, aut vetantis Dei; ex qua
 “ illa lex quam Dii humano generi dederunt, recte est LAUDA-
 “ TA.” And the shewing that civil laws came originally from the Gods, was the highest recommendation of them. But if by *LEX* we are to understand only the *first* law of the system, which begins, “ Ad Divos adeunto caste,” &c. then by *LAUS* is meant his shewing, as he does likewise in the following chapter, the use and service of religion to civil society.

“ observe,

“ observe, was the method of Zaleucus and Charon-
 “ das. For their system of laws was not an exercise
 “ of wit, or designed for the amusement of the in-
 “ dolent and curious, but composed for the use of
 “ the public in their several cities. *These, Plato*
 “ *imitated*; as thinking this likewise to be the busi-
 “ nefs of Law; to gain somewhat of its end by the
 “ gentler methods of persuasion, and not carry every
 “ thing by mere force and fear of punishment ^h.”

Here, we see, he intimates, that Plato and him-
 self had the same view, in writing laws, with Za-
 leucus and Charondas; namely, the service of a Pub-
 lic. The difference between them was, that the two
 Originals were employed by their country; and the
 two Copiests generously undertook an office they
 were not called to.

However, Plato and Cicero are the greatest autho-
 rities antiquity could afford, and the most deserving
 to be heard in this matter. Plato makes it the ne-
 cessary introduction to his laws, to establish the *being*
and providence of the Gods by a law against SACRI-
 LEGE. And he explains what he means by *sacrilege*,
 in the following words: “ Either the denial of
 “ the being of the Gods; or, if that be owned, the
 “ denial of their providence over men; or, thirdly,
 “ the teaching, that they are flexible, and easy to be
 “ cajoled by prayer and sacrifice ⁱ.” And after-

^h Sed, ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus
 philosophorum omnium, qui princeps de republica conscripsit,
 idemque separatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciendum;
 ut priusquam ipsam legem recitem, de ejus legis laude dicam.
 Quod idem & Zaleucum & Charondam fecisse video; cum qui-
 dem illi non studii & delectationis, sed reipublicæ causa leges ci-
 vitatibus suis scripserunt. Quos imitatus Plato, videlicet hoc quo-
 que legis putavit esse, persuadere aliquid, non omnia vi ac minis
 cogere. *De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 6.*

ⁱ ἀλλὰ ἐν δὴ τῶν τριῶν πάσχω, ἢ τῷτο — εἴτε ἡγήμεθα, ἢ τὸ
 δεύτερον ὄντας, εἴτε φροντίζω ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον, εὐπαράμυθῆτας εἶναι, δυσιαῖς
 τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παρασόμενας. *De Legg. lib. x.*

wards;

wards; “ It is not of small consequence, that what
 “ we here reason about the Gods, should, by all
 “ means, be made probable; as, that they ARE;
 “ and, that they are GOOD; and that their concern
 “ for justice takes place of all other human consider-
 “ ations. For this, in our opinion, seems to be the
 “ noblest and best PREFACE that can be made to a
 “ body of laws^k.” In compliance with this declara-
 tion, Cicero’s *Preface* to his laws, is conceived in the
 following terms: “ Let our citizen then be first of
 “ all firmly persuaded of the government and domi-
 “ nion of the Gods; that they are the lords and mas-
 “ ters of the world; that all things are disposed by
 “ their power, direction, and providence; and that
 “ the whole race of mankind is in the highest man-
 “ ner indebted to them; that they are intimately ac-
 “ quainted with every one’s state and condition; that
 “ they know what he does, what he thinks; with
 “ what disposition of mind, and with what degree of
 “ piety he performs the acts and offices of religion;
 “ and that, accordingly, they make a distinction be-
 “ tween the good and bad. The mind being im-
 “ bued with these opinions, will never deviate from
 “ TRUTH and UTILITY. And what *truth* is more
 “ evident than this, that no one should be so stu-
 “ pidly arrogant, as to suppose, there is Mind and
 “ Reason in himself, and yet none in the Heavens
 “ and the World; or, that those things, whose uses
 “ and directions can scarce be comprehended with
 “ the utmost stretch of human faculties, may yet
 “ perform their motions without an understanding
 “ Ruler? But, He whom the courses of the hea-
 “ venly bodies, the vicissitudes of day and night,
 “ the orderly temperature of the seasons, and the

^k διαφέρει δ' ε' σμικρὸν ἀμωσγέπως πιθανότητ' ἢ τινὰ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν
 ἔχειν, ὡς θεοί τ' εἰσι, καὶ ἀγαθοί, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων.
 σχεδὸν γὰρ τῆτο ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νομῶν κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον προοί-
 μιον ἂν εἴη. id. ibid.

“ various blessings which the earth pours out for our
 “ sustenance and pleasure, will not excite, nay com-
 “ pel to gratitude, is unfit even to be reckoned in
 “ the number of men. And since things endowed
 “ with reason, are more excellent than those which
 “ want it ; and that it is impiety to say, any parti-
 “ cular is more excellent than the universal Nature ;
 “ we must needs confess this Nature to be endowed
 “ with reason. That these opinions are likewise *use-*
 “ *ful*, who can deny, when he considers what stabi-
 “ lity is derived to the Public from within, by the
 “ religion of an oath ; and what security it enjoys
 “ from without, by those holy rites which affirm na-
 “ tional treaties and conventions : how efficacious the
 “ fear of divine punishment is, to deter men from
 “ wickedness ; and what purity of manners must
 “ reign in that Society, where the immortal Gods
 “ themselves are believed to interpose both as judges
 “ and witnesses ? Here you have the PROEM of the
 “ law ; for so Plato calls it ¹. ”

¹ Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse om-
 nium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum
 geri vi, ditione, ac numine, eosdemque optime de genere homi-
 num mereri ; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat,
 qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones, intueri ; piorumque &
 impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud
 sane abhorrebunt ab utili, & a vera sententia. Quid est enim ve-
 rius, quàm neminem esse oportere tam stulte arrogantem, ut in se
 rationem & mentem putet inesse, in cœlo mundoque non putet ?
 aut ut ea, quæ vix summa ingenii ratione comprehendat, nulla
 ratione moveri putet ? Quem vero astrorum ordines, quem die-
 rum noctiumque vicissitudines, quem mensium temperatio, quem-
 que ea, quæ gignuntur nobis ad fruendum, non gratum esse co-
 gant, hunc hominem omnino numerari qui decet ? Cumque om-
 nia, quæ rationem habent, præstent iis, quæ sint rationis exper-
 tia, nefasque sit dicere ullam rem præstare naturæ omnium rerum ;
 rationem inesse in ea confitendum est. Utiles esse autem opiniones
 has, quis neget, cum intelligat, quàm multa firmentur jurejuran-
 do, quantæ salutis sint foederum religiones, quàm multos divini
 supplicii metus a scelere revocarit ; quamque sancta sit societas ci-
 vium-inter ipsos, Diis immortalibus interpositis tum iudicibus tum
 testibus. Habes legis proœmium ; sic enim hoc appellat Plato.
De Legg. lib. ii. c. 7.

And then follow the laws themselves; the first of which is conceived in these words: “ Let those who
 “ approach the Gods, be pure and undefiled; let
 “ their offerings be seasoned with piety, and all ostentation of pomp omitted: the God himself will
 “ be his own avenger on transgressors. Let the
 “ Gods, and those who were ever reckoned in the
 “ number of Celestials, be worshiped: and those
 “ likewise, whom their merits have raised to heaven;
 “ such as HERCULES, BACCHUS, ÆSCULAPIUS,
 “ CASTOR, POLLUX, and ROMULUS. And let chapels be erected in honour to those qualities, by
 “ whose aid mortals arrive thither, such as REASON,
 “ VIRTUE, PIETY, and GOOD-FAITH^m. ”

S E C T. IV.

THE NEXT step the Legislator took, was to support and affirm the general doctrine of a PROVIDENCE, which he had delivered in his laws, by a very circumstantial and popular method of inculcating the belief of a *future state of rewards and punishments*.

This was by the institution of the MYSTERIES, the most sacred part of pagan Religion; and artfully framed to strike deeply and forcibly into the minds and imaginations of the people.

I propose, therefore, to give a full and distinct account of this whole matter: and the rather, because it is a thing little known or attended to: the Ancients, who wrote expressly on the *Mysteries*, such

^m Ad divos adeunto castè; pietatem adhibento; opes amoven-
 to: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit.—Divos, & eos qui
 cœlestes semper habiti, colunto: & ollos, quos endo cœlo merita
 locaverunt, Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pol-
 lucem, Quirinum. Ast olla, propter quæ datur homini adscen-
 sus in cœlum, mentem, virtutem, pietatem, fidem, earumque
 laudum delubra sunt. *De Legg. lib. ii. c. 8.*

as Melanthius, Menander, Hiccius, Sotades, and others, not being come down to us. So that the modern writers on this subject are altogether in the dark concerning their origine and end; not excepting Meursius himself: to whom, however, I am much indebted, for abridging my labour in the search of those passages of antiquity, which make mention of the ELEUSINIAN *Mysteries*, and for bringing the greater part of them together under one viewⁿ.

To avoid ambiguity, it will be proper to explain the term. Each of the *pagan* Gods had (besides the *public* and *open*) a *secret worship*^o paid unto him: to which none were admitted but those who had been selected by preparatory ceremonies, called INITIATION. This *secret worship* was termed the MYSTERIES.

But though every God had, besides his *open* worship, the *secret* likewise; yet this latter did not *every where* attend the former; but only *there*, where he was the patron God, or in principal esteem. Thus, when in consequence of that intercommunity of paganism, which will be explained hereafter, one nation adopted the Gods of another, they did not always take in at the same time, the *secret worship* or *Mysteries* of that God: so, in Rome, the public and open worship of Bacchus was in use long before his *Mysteries* were admitted. But, on the other hand again, the worship of the strange God was sometimes introduced only for the sake of his *Mysteries*: as, in the same city, that of Isis and Osiris.

ⁿ *Eleusinia: sine de Cereris Eleusinae sacro.*

^o Strabo, in his tenth book of his Geography, p. 716. Gron. Ed. writes thus: Κοινὸν δὲ τῆτο, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστὶ, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιίας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἐορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῶ, τὰς δὲ χωρὶς· καὶ ταῖς μὲν μετὰ μουσικῆς, τὰς δὲ μὴ· ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΣ, ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΦΑΝΕΡΩ· καὶ τῶθ' ἡ φύσις ἔτως ὑπαγορεύει.

Thus

Thus stood the case in general; the particular exceptions to it, will be seen in the sequel of this dissertation.

The first and original *Mysteries*, of which we have any sure account, were those of Isis and Osiris in EGYPT; from whence they were derived to the GREEKS^p, under the presidency of various Gods^q, as the institutor thought most for his purpose: Zoroaster brought them into Persia; Cadmus and Inachus into Greece at large^r; Orpheus into Thrace; Melampus into Argis; Trophonius

^p Diod. Sic. lib. i. Eudoxus said, as Plutarch informs us, that the Egyptians invented this fable concerning Jupiter Ammon or the Supreme God,—That his Legs being unseparated, very shame drove him into solitude; but that Isis split and divided them, and by that means set him at liberty to walk about the World. Φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Εὐδοξός, μυθολογεῖν Ἀιγυπτίως, ὡς τῶν σκελῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος βαδίζειν, ὑπὲρ αἰσχύνης, ἱερήμια διέτριβεν. Ἡ δὲ Ἴσις διατεμήσασα καὶ διασῆσασα τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος, ἀρτίποδα, τὴν πόρειαν παρεσχεν. *De Is. & Osir.* The moral of the fable is plainly this, as we shall see more plainly hereafter, That the FIRST CAUSE was kept unknown, till the Egyptian *Mysteries* of Isis revealed him amongst their ἀπόρρητα; which *Mysteries* were communicated to the Greeks, and, thro' them, to the rest of mankind. But the Image under which the fable is conveyed, was taken from the form of the Egyptian Statues of the Gods, which the workmen made with their Legs undivided. When the Greek Artists first shewed them how to form their Gods in a walking Posture, the attitude so alarmed their Worshipers, that they bound them with Chains, lest they should desert their own Country. For the People imagined that their Gods, on the least ill humour or disgust, had a strange propensity to shew them a fair pair of heels.

^q Ὅτι δὲ τῶν Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων, καὶ μέντοι τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, καὶ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰς τελεὰς Ὀρφεύς, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρύσης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενος, τὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὰ τῆς Δήης καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου μυστήρια μελατέθεικεν ὅρσια. Theodoretus, *Therapeut.* i.

^r Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν τὰ παρὰ Ἕλλησι μυστήρια τε καὶ τελεαὶ πρότερον παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ παρὰ Φρυγί, καὶ Φοινί, καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις, κακῶς ἐπινοημένα μετενεχθέντα τε εἰς Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρας ὑπὸ Κάδμου καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰνάκῃ. Ἀπὸ πρότερον κληθέντα, καὶ οὐκ οἰκονομήσαντα τὴν Μέμφιν. Eriphan. αἰν. *Hæc.* lib. i.

into

into Bœotia; Minos into Crete; Cinyras into Cyprus; and Erechtheus into Athens. And as in Egypt they were to Isis and Osiris; so in Asia they were to Mithras; in Samothrace to the Mother of the Gods; in Bœotia to Bacchus; in Cyprus to Venus; in Crete to Jupiter; in Athens to Ceres and Proserpine; in Amphissa to Castor and Pollux; in Lemnus to Vulcan, and so to others, in other places, the number of which is incredible^s.

But their end, as well as nature, was the same in all; to teach the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. In this, Origen and Celsus agree; the two most learned writers of their several parties. The first, minding his adversary of the difference between the *future life* promised by the Gospel, and that taught in Paganism, bids him compare the Christian doctrine with what all the sects of Philosophy, and all the *Mysteries*, amongst Greeks and Barbarians, taught concerning it^t: And Celsus, in his turn, endeavouring to shew that christianity had no advantage over paganism in the efficacy of stronger sanctions, expresses himself to this purpose; “But now, after all, just as you believe eternal punishments, so do the Ministers of the sacred rites, and those who initiate into, and preside in the *Mysteries*.”

^s Postulat quidem magnitudo materiæ, atque ipsius defensionis officium, ut similiter cæteras turpitudinum species persequamur: vel quas produnt antiquitatis historiæ, vel mysteria illa continent sacra, quibus initiis nomen est, & quæ non omnibus vulgo, sed paucorum taciturnitatibus tradi licet. Sed *Sacrorum innumeri ritus*, atque affixa deformitas singulis, corporaliter prohibet universa nos exequi. Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, lib. v. p. 168.

^t —Καθ' ἐκάστην φιλοσόφων αἵρεσιν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἢ Βαρβάροις ἢ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ. Orig. *cont. Cels.* lib. iii. p. 160. Sp. Ed.

^u Μάλιστα μὲν, ὃ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολάσεις αἰωνίως νομίζεις· ἔγωγε καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐξηγήται τελεσταί τε καὶ μυσαῶγοί, lib. viii. p. 408. And that nothing very heterodox was taught in the mysteries concerning a future state, I collect from the answer Origen makes to Celsus, who had preferred what was taught in the *Mysteries* of Bacchus on that point, to what the Christian Religion revealed

They

They continued long in religious reverence : some were more famous and more extensive than others ; to which many accidents concurred. The most noted were the ORPHIC, the BACCHIC, the ELEUSINIAN, the SAMOTHRACIAN, the CABIRIC, and the MITHRIAC.

Euripides makes Bacchus say, in his tragedy of that name^w, that the *Orgies* were celebrated by all foreign nations, and that he came to introduce them amongst the Greeks. And it is not improbable, but several barbarous nations might have learned them of the Egyptians long before they came into Greece. The Druids of Britain, who had, as well as the Brachmans of India, divers of their religious rites from thence, celebrated the *Orgies* of Bacchus, as we learn from Dionysius the African. And Strabo having quoted Artemidorus for a fabulous story, subjoins, “ But what he says of Ceres and Proserpine is more credible, namely, that there is an island near Britain, where they perform the same rites to those two Goddesses as are used in Samothrace^x.” But, of all the MYSTERIES, those which bore that name, by way of eminence, the ELEUSINIAN, celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres, were by far the most renowned ; and, in course of time, eclipsed, and almost swallowed up the rest. Their neighbours round about very early practised these *Mysteries* to the neglect of their own : in a little time all Greece and Asia Minor were initiated into them : and at length they spread over the whole Roman empire, and even beyond the limits of it. “ I insist

concerning it—περὶ μὲν ἔν τῶν Βακχικῶν τελείων εἴτε τίς ἐστὶ πιθανὸς λόγος, εἴτε μηδεὶς τοιούτος——lib. iv. p. 167.

^w Act. II.

^x Περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς κόρης πιστότερα· ὅτι φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς ἣν Βρεττανικῇ, καθ’ ἣν ὁμοία τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθρακίᾳ περὶ τὴν Δήμητρον καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται. Strabonis Geogr. lib. iv. The nature of these Samothracian rites is explained afterwards.

“ not

“not (says Tully) on those sacred and august rites
 “of ELEUSIS, where, from the remotest regions,
 “men come to be initiated^y.” And we are told
 in Zosimus, that “these most holy rites were then
 “so extensive, as to take in the whole race of man-
 “kind^z.” Aristides calls Eleusis, *the common temple
 of the earth*^a. And Pausanias says, the rites per-
 formed there for the promotion of piety and virtue,
 as much excelled all other rites, as the Gods excelled
 the Heroes^b.

How this happened, the nature and turn of the
 People, who introduced these *Mysteries*, will ac-
 count for. Athens was a city the most devoted
 to Religion of any upon the face of the earth. On
 this account their poet Sophocles calls it *the sacred
 building of the Gods*^c, his figure of speech alluding
 to its fabulous foundation. Nor was it a less com-
 pliment St. Paul intended to pay the Athenians, when
 he said, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεσέ-
 ρος ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ^d. And Josephus tells us, that *they
 were universally esteemed the most religious people of
 Greece*^e. Hence, in these matters, Athens became
 the pattern and standard to the rest of the world.

In discoursing, therefore, of the MYSTERIES in
 general, we shall be forced to take our ideas of them
 chiefly from what we find practised in the *Eleusinian*.

^y Omitto ELEUSINAM sanctam illam & augustam; ubi initian-
 tur gentes orarum ultimæ. *Nat. Deor.* lib. i.

^z Τὰ συνέχοντο τὸ ἀνθρώπειον μέν᾽ ἀγνώτατα μυστήρια. lib. iv.

^a Ὅστις ἔκ κοινόν τι τῆς γῆς τέμενος τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἡγεῖτο. Aristidis
Eleusinia.

^b Οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων
 ὁπόσα εἰς εὐσέβειαν ἦκει, ποσάτω ἦγον ἐνλιμώτεραν, ὅσω καὶ τὰς θεὰς ἐπι-
 προσθὲν ἡρώων. *Photius*. In this elegant similitude he seems plainly
 to allude to the *secret* of the *mysteries*; which, as we shall see, con-
 sisted in an explanation of the *origin of hero-worship*, and the *na-
 ture of the deity*.

^c *Electra*, act. ii. sc. i. ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΑΜΗΤΩΝ.—

^d Act. Apost. xvii. 22.

^e —εὐσεβεσάτες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. *Cont. Ap.* lib. ii.

Nor need we fear to be mistaken; the END of all being the same, and all having their common ORIGINAL from Egypt.

To begin with the general purpose and design of their Institution. This will be understood, by shewing what they *communicated* promiscuously to all.

To support the doctrine of a PROVIDENCE, which they taught, governed the world^f, they enforced the belief of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments^g, by every sort of contrivance. But as this did not quite clear up the intricate ways of Providence, they added the doctrine of a METEMPSYCHOSIS, or the belief of a *prior state*: as we learn from Cicero, and Porphyry^h; the latter of whom informs us, that it was taught in the *Mysteries* of the Persian Mithras. This was an ingenious solution, invented by the Egyptian Lawgivers, to remove all doubts concerning the moral attributes of Godⁱ; and so, by adding a *prior* to a *future state*, to establish the firm belief of his Providence. For the Lawgiver well knew how precarious that belief was, while the moral attributes of God remained doubtful and uncertain.

In cultivating the doctrine of a *future life*, it was taught, that the *Initiated* should be happier in that state than all other mortals: that while the souls of the profane, at their leaving the body, stuck fast in mire and filth, and remained in darkness, the souls of the

^f Plutarch. *de Is. & Osir.*

^g [Mysteriis] neque solum, &c.—Sed etiam cum SPE MELIORE MORIENDI. Tull. *de Legg.* lib. ii. c. 14.

^h Καὶ γὰρ δόγμα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν πρώτων, τὴν ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩΣΙΝ εἶναι· ὃ καὶ ἐμφαίνειν εἰκότως ἐν τοῖς τῷ Μίθρᾳ μυστηρίοις. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 16.

ⁱ So Tully. Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus & ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris INITIISQUE tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vitâ superiore, pœnarum luendarum causa, natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

Initiated winged their flight directly to the happy islands, and the habitations of the Gods^k. This doctrine was as necessary for the support of the *Mysteries*, as the *Mysteries* were for the support of the doctrine. But now, lest it should be mistaken, that *initiation* alone, or any other means than a virtuous life, intitled men to this future happiness, the *Mysteries* openly proclaimed it as their chief business, to restore the soul to its original purity. “It was the
 “end and design of *initiation* (says Plato) to restore
 “the soul to that state, from whence it fell, as from
 “its native seat of perfection^l.” They contrived that every thing should tend to shew the necessity of virtue; as appears from Epictetus. “Thus the *Mysteries* become useful; thus we seize the true spirit
 “of them; when we begin to apprehend that every
 “thing therein was instituted by the Ancients, for
 “instruction and amendment of life^m.” Porphyry gives us some of those moral precepts, which were enforced in the *Mysteries*, as *to honour their parents, to offer up fruits to the Gods, and to forbear cruelty towards animals*ⁿ. For the accomplishment of this purpose, it was required in the *Aspirant* to the *Mysteries*, that he should be of a clear and unblemished Character, and free even from the suspicion of any

^k Plato in *Phædone*—Aristides *Eleusiniâ* & apud Stobæum, *Serm.* 119, &c. *Schol. Arist. in Ranis.* Diog. Laert. in *vita Diog. Cynici.*

^l Σκοπὸς τῶν τελετῶν ἐστίν, εἰς τέλος ἀναγαγεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκεῖνο ἀφ’ ὧ τὴν πρώτην ἐποιήσαντο κἀθόδον, ὡς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς. In *Phædone.*

^m Οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνεται τὰ μυστήρια· ἔτις εἰς φαντασίαν ἐρχόμεθα· ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τὴ βίαν καλεσάμενα πάντα ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. Apud *Arrian. Dissert. lib. iii. cap. 21.* My reason for translating εἰς φαντασίαν, in this manner, was, because I imagined the author, in this obscure expression, alluded to the custom in the *Mysteries* of calling those who were initiated only in the lesser, *Μύται*; but those, in the greater, *Ἐπίπται*.

ⁿ Γονεῖς τιμᾶν, Θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγαλλεῖν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. *De Abst. lib. iv. § 22.*

notorious crime^o. To come at the truth of his Character, he was severely interrogated by the Priest or Hierophant, impressing on him the same sense of obligation to conceal nothing, as is now done at the roman Confessional^p. Hence it was, that when Nero, after the murder of his mother, took a journey into Greece, and had a mind to be present at the celebration of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, the conscience of his parricide deterred him from attempting it^q. On the same account, the good emperor M. Antoninus, when he would purge himself to the world of the death of Avidius Cassius, chose to be initiated into the *Eleusinian Mysteries*^r; it being notorious, that none were admitted into them, who laboured under the just suspicion of any heinous immorality. And Philostratus tells us, that Apollonius was desirous of being initiated in these *Mysteries*; but that the Hierophant refused to admit him, because he esteemed the Aspirant to be no better than a Magician; for the *Eleusinian* stood open to none who did not approach the Gods with a pure and holy worship^s. This was, originally, an indispensable condition of *initiation*, observed in common, by all the *Mysteries*; and instituted by Bacchus, or Osiris himself, the first In-

^o Οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καθαροῖς εἶναι τοῖς μύσαις ἐν κοινῷ προαγορεύουσιν, οἷον τὰς χεῖρας τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι. Libanius *Decl.* xix.

^p As appears from the repartee which Plutarch records, in his *Laconic apothegms of Lysander*, when he went to be initiated into the Samothracean mysteries; Ἐν δὲ Σαμοθρακῇ χρηστηριοζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν ὅ, τί ἀνομώτατον ἔργον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πεπρακται πόλερον ἢν σὺ τῆτο κελεύσαντος ἢ τῶν θεῶν, τῆτο δεῖ ποιεῖν; ἐπηρώτησε. Φαμενὸν δὲ τῶν θεῶν, Σὺ τοίνυν. ἔφη, ἐκποδῶν μὲν κατὰς ἡθι, καὶ κείνοις ἐρῶ εἰάν πυνθάνωνται.—Why initiation into these *Mysteries* is called, enquiring of the oracle, will be seen afterwards.

^q Peregrinatione quidem Græciæ, Eleusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii & scelerati voce præconis submoverentur, interesse non ausus est. Sueton. *Vita Neron.* cap. 34.

^r Jul. Capit. *Vita Ant. Phil.* and Dion Cass.

^s Ο δὲ ἱεροφάντης ἐκ ἐβύλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἂν πότε μυῆσαι γόντα μὴ δὲ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἀνῴξαι ἀνθρώπων μὴ καθαροῦ τὰ Δαιμόνια. *De Vita Apollonii Tyanensis*, l. iv. c. 18.

venter of them; who, as Diodorus tells us, initiated none but pious and virtuous men^t. During the *celebration* of the Mysteries, they were enjoined the greatest sanctity, and highest elevation of mind. “When you sacrifice or pray (says Epictetus in Arrian) go with a prepared purity of mind, and with dispositions so previously ordered, as are required of you when you approach the ancient *rites and Mysteries*.” And Proclus tells us that the Mysteries and the Initiations drew the souls of men from a material, sensual, and merely human life, and joined them in *communion* with the Gods^w. Nor was a less degree of purity required of the Initiated for their *future* conduct^x. They were obliged by solemn engagements to commence a new life of strictest piety and virtue; into which they were entered by a severe course of penance, proper to purge the mind of its natural defilements. Gregory Nazianzen tells us, that “no one could be initiated into the *Mysteries of Mithras*, till he had undergone all sorts of mortifying trials, and had approved himself holy and impassible^y.” The consideration of all this made Tertullian say, that, in the *Mysteries*, “Truth herself took on every shape, to oppose and combat Truth^z.” And St. Austin, “That the de-

^t — καλαδεῖξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελείας, καὶ μελαδῆναι τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀσκήσι. Lib. iii. p. 138. St. Ed.

^u Καὶ μετὰ δυσίας δὲ, καὶ μετ’ εὐχῶν, καὶ προσηνευκότα, καὶ προδιακείμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι ἱεροῖς προσελεύσεται καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαιοῖς. Arrian. *Dissert.* lib. iii. cap. 21.

^w Τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελείας ἀνάγειν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνύλης καὶ θνήσκουσας ζωῆς τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς θεοῖς. In *Remp. Plat.* lib. i.

^x Καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀξιοθεῖς ἐδεόμην καὶ τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀρίστης παιδείσεως. Quidam apud Sopatrum, in *Div. Quæst.*

^y ὁδεῖς δὲ δύνασθαι τελεῖσθαι τὰς τῷ Μίτρᾳ τελείας, εἰ μὴ διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι, καὶ δείξει ἐκυλὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ὅσιον. 1 *Orat. cont. Julian.*

^z Omnia adversus veritatem, de ipsa veritate constructa esse. *Apol.* cap. 47.

“vil hurried away deluded souls to their destruction,
 “when he promised to *purify* them by those cere-
 “monies, called INITIATIONS^a.”

The *Initiated*, under this discipline, and with these promises, were esteemed the only happy amongst men. Aristophanes, who speaks the sense of the people, makes them exult and triumph after this manner:
 “On us only does the sun dispense his blessings;
 “we only receive pleasure from his beams: we,
 “who are *initiated*, and perform towards citizens
 “and strangers all acts of piety and justice^b.” And Sophocles, to the same purpose, “LIFE, only is to be
 “had there: all other places are full of misery and
 “evil^c.” “Happy (says Euripides) is the man
 “who hath been initiated into the greater *Mysteries*,
 “and leads a life of piety and religion^d.” And the longer any one had been *initiated*, the more honourable was he deemed^e. It was even scandalous not to be initiated: and however virtuous the person otherwise appeared, he became suspicious to the people: As was the case of Socrates, and, in after-times, of Demonax^f. No wonder, then, if the superior advantages of the *Initiated*, both here and hereafter, should make the *Mysteries* universally aspired to.

^a Diabolum animas deceptas illusasque præcipitasse, quum polliceretur purgationem animæ per eas, quas ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ appellant. *De Trinitate*, lib. iii. c. 10.

^b Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος
 Καὶ φέγγος ἱλαρόν ἐστι,
 Ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ', εὖ-
 σεβῆ τε δίκηγομεν
 Τρόπον, περὶ τε ξένων
 Καὶ τὸς ἰδιώτας.

Chorus in Raris, act. i.

^c Τοῖς δὲ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
 Ζῆν ἐστὶ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

^d Ὡ μάκαρ ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελέας θεῶν
 Εἰδὼς, βίολ' ἀγιστεύει. *Bacch.*

^e Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀριτελής μίστης ἀτιμότερος τῷ πάλαι μύσῳ. *Aristides in Orat. περὶ παραφθέρματι.*

^f *Lucian. Vit. Dem.*

And, indeed, they soon grew as comprehensive in the numbers they embraced, as in the regions and countries to which they extended: men, women, and children ran to be initiated. Thus Apuleius^g describes the state of the Mysteries even in his time: “Influunt turbæ, sacris divinis initiatæ, viri foeminaeque, omnis ætatis & omnis dignitatis.” The Pagans, we see, seemed to think *initiation* as necessary, as the Christians did *baptism*. And the custom of initiating children appears from a passage of Terence^h, to have been general.

“Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit;
 “Porro autem alio, ubi erit puero natalis dies,
 “Ubi INITIABUNT.”

Nay they had even the same superstition in the administration of it, which some Christians had of Baptism, to defer it till the approach of death; so the honest farmer Trygæus, in the *Pax* of Aristophanes:

Δεῖ γὰρ μνηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι.

The occasion of this solicitude is told us by the scholiast on the *Ranæ* of the same poet. “The Athenians believed, that he who was initiated, and instructed in the *Mysteries*, would obtain celestial honour after death: and THEREFORE all ran to be initiatedⁱ.” Their fondness for it became so great, that at such times as the public Treasury was low, the Magistrates could have recourse to the *Mysteries*,

^g Met. lib. xi.

^h Phorm. act. i. sc. i. And Donatus, on the place, tells us, the same custom prevailed in the Samothracian mysteries: “Terentius Apollodorum sequitur, apud quem legitur, in insula Samothracum à certo tempore pueros initiari, more Atheniensium.”

ⁱ Λόγος γὰρ ἐκράτει παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια διδασκόμενος, μετὰ τὴν ἐρθέουσαν τελευτὴν θείας ἡξίετο τιμῆς διὸ καὶ πάντες πρὸς τὴν μύησιν ἐσπεύδον.

as a fund to supply the exigencies of the State. “Aristogiton (says the commentator on Hermogenes) in a great scarcity of public money, procured a law, that in Athens every one should pay a certain sum for his *initiation*^k.”

Every thing in these Rites was mysteriously conducted, and under the most solemn obligations to secrecy^l. Which how it could agree to our representation of the *Mysteries*, as an institution for the use of the people, we shall now endeavour to explain.

They were hidden and kept secret for two reasons:

I. Nothing excites our curiosity like that which retires from our observation, and seems to forbid our search. Of this opinion we find the learned Synesius, where he says, “The people will despise what is easy and intelligible, and therefore they must always be provided with something wonderful and mysterious in Religion, to hit their taste, and stimulate their curiosity^m.” And again, “The ignorance of the mysteries preserves their veneration; for which reason they are entrusted only to

^k Ἀριστογείτων ἐν σπάνει χρημάτων, γράφει νόμον, παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις μυσθὲς μνησθαι. *Syrianus*.

^l Cum ignotis hominibus Orpheus sacrorum ceremonias aperiret, nihil aliud ab his quos initiabat in primo vestibulo nisi iurandi necessitatem, & cum terribili quadam auctoritate religionis, exegit, ne profanis auribus inventæ ac compositæ religionis secreta proderentur. Firmicus in limine lib. vii. *Astrol*—Nota sunt hæc Græcæ superstitionis Hierophantis, quibus inviolabili lege interdictum erat, ne hæc atque hujusmodi Mystéria apud eos, qui his sacris minimè initiati essent, evulgarent.—Nicetas in *Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat.* εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα. This obligation of the initiated to secrecy was the reason that the *Egyptian hieroglyphic* for them, was a grasshopper, which was supposed to have no mouth. See *Horapollo Hieroglyph.* lib. ii. cap. 55.

^m Τὸ δὲ ῥᾶτον καταγελάσειαι ὁ δῆμος· δέχεται γὰρ τεραλείας. To the same purpose, Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist.* lib. v. Τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι πρῶχειρα κόρον τε ἔσχεν, καὶ ἀχρηστία σφίσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περιέχουσαι.

“ the cover of night ⁿ.” “ The veil or mist (says
 “ Clemens Alex.) thro’ which things are only *per-*
 “ *mitted to be seen*, renders the truths contained under it
 “ more venerable and majestic ^o.” On these principles
 the *Mysteries* were framed. They were kept secret,
 to excite curiosity: They were celebrated in the night,
 to impress veneration and religious horror ^p: And
 they were performed with variety of shews and re-
 presentations (of which more hereafter) to fix and
 perpetuate those impressions ^q. Hitherto, then, the
Mysteries are to be considered as invented, not
 to *deter*, but to *invite* the curiosity of the people.
 But,

II. They were kept secret from a necessity of
 teaching the Initiated some things, improper to be
 communicated to ALL. The learned Varro in a frag-
 ment of his book *Of Religions*, preserved by St.
 Augustin, tells us, that “ There were many truths,
 “ which it was inconvenient for the State to be ge-
 “ nerally known; and many things, which, though
 “ false, it was expedient the People should believe;
 “ and that therefore the Greeks shut up their mys-
 “ TERIES in the silence of their sacred inclo-
 “ sures ^r.”

ⁿ Ἀγνωσία σεμνότης ἐς τὰ τελεῶν καὶ νύξ τὸ τοῦτο πιστεύεται τὰ μυστήρια.
Libro de Providentia.

^o ἄλλως τε καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα διὰ τίνος παρακαλύμματος υποφαίνεται, μέ-
 ζονά τε καὶ σεμνοτέραν δείκνυσιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

^p Euripides, in the *Bacchantes*, act. ii. makes Bacchus say,
 that the orgies were celebrated in the night, because darkness has
 something solemn and august in it, and proper to fill the mind
 with sacred horror.

^q Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐν ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ λέγεται, πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ
 φόβον, ὥσπερ ἐν ΣΚΟΤΩΙ, καὶ ΝΥΚΤΙ· εἶκοι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορία τῷ
 σκότῳ καὶ τῇ νυκτί. Demet. Phalereus *de Elocutione*, § 110.

^r Multa esse vera, quæ vulgo scire non sit utile; multaque,
 quæ, tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat. Et
 ideo Græcos TELETAS ac MYSTERIA taciturnitate parietibusque
 clausisse. *Civ. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 31.

Now to reconcile this seeming contradiction, in supposing the *Mysteries* to be instituted to invite the People into them, and, at the same time, to keep them from the People's knowledge, we are to observe, that in the *Eleusinian rites* there were two celebrations of the Mysteries, the GREATER and the LESS^s. The end of the *less* must be referred to what we said of the Institutor's intention to invite the people into them; and of the *greater*, to his intention of keeping some truths from the people's knowledge. Nor is this said without sufficient warrant: Antiquity is very express for this distinction. We are told that the *lesser Mysteries* were only a kind of preparatory purification for the *Greater*^t, and might be easily communicated to allⁿ. That four years^w was the usual time of probation for those *greater Mysteries*; in which (as Clemens Alexandrinus expressly informs us) the SECRETS were deposited^x.

However, as it is very certain, that both the *greater* and *lesser Mysteries* were instituted for the benefit of the State, it follows, that the DOCTRINES taught in both, were equally for the service of Society; only with this difference; some without inconvenience might be taught promiscuously, others could not.

On the whole, the secret in the *lesser Mysteries* was principally contained in some hidden *rites and shews* to

^s Ἦσαν τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος· τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς. Interp. Græc. ad Plut. Aristophanis.

^t Ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὥσπερ προκαθαρσις, καὶ προάγνευσις τῶν μεγάλων. Schol. ad Plut. secund. Aristoph.

ⁿ Ἐπεινόησαν μυστήρια εὐμεταδοτά. Schol. Aristoph.

^w —Cum epoptas ante quinquennium instituunt, ut opinionem suspendio cognitionis ædificent. Tertul. adv. Valentinianos.

^x Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ προπαρασκευῆς τῶν μελλόντων· τὰ δὲ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἢ μαθαίνειν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ, καὶ περινοεῖν τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὰ πλάσματα. Strom. v.

be kept from the open view of the people, only to invite their curiosity : And the secret in the *greater*, some hidden *doctrines* to be kept from the people's knowledge, for the very contrary purpose. For the *Shews* common both to the *greater* and *lesser mysteries*, were only designed to engage the attention, and raise their devotion.

But it may be worth while to enquire more particularly into the HIDDEN DOCTRINES of the *greater Mysteries* : for so religiously was the secret kept, that the thing seems still to lie involved in darkness. We shall, therefore, proceed cautiously ; and try, from the obscure hints dropped up and down in Antiquity,

“ Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas.”

First, as to the general nature of these *hidden doctrines*, it appears, they must needs be such which, if promiscuously taught, would bring prejudice to the State ; Why else were they secreted ? and, at the same time, benefit, if communicated with caution and prudence ; Why else were they taught at all ?

From their general nature, we come by degrees to their particular. And first,

1. To the certain knowledge of what they were not : which is one step to the knowledge of what they were.

1. They were not the common doctrines of a Providence and future state ; for ancient testimony is express, that these doctrines were taught promiscuously to all the initiated ; and were of the very essence of these Rites.—These doctrines were not capable of being hid and secreted, because they were of universal credit amongst the civilized part of mankind. There was no need to hide them ; because the common knowledge of them was so far from being detrimental to Society, that, as we have shewn, Society could not even subsist without their being generally known and believed.

2. These

2. These secret doctrines could not be the metaphysical speculations of the Philosophers concerning the *Deity*, and the *human soul*. 1. Because this would be making the *hidden doctrines* of the *schools* of Philosophy, and of the *mysteries* of Religion, one and the same; which they could not be, because their ends were different: the end of pagan Philosophy being only Truth; the end of pagan Religion, only Utility. These indeed were their professed ends. But Both being ignorant of this important verity, *That Truth and general Utility do coincide*^y, they Both, in many cases, missed shamefully of their end. The Philosopher, while he neglected *utility*, falling into the most absurd and fatal errors concerning the nature of God and of the Soul^z: And the Lawgiver, while so little solicitous of *truth*, encouraged a Polytheism very mischievous to Society. However, as we shall now see, he invented and successfully employed these *Mysteries* to remedy the disorders arising from it—

2. Because revealing such metaphysical speculations to the members of civil Society, with what caution soever, would be injurious to the State, and productive of no good to Religion; as will be seen when we come, in the third book, to examine what those metaphysical speculations were.—3. Because such speculations (as we shall then see) would overthrow every thing taught to ALL, in the *Mysteries*, concerning a Providence, and a future state: And yet we are told by the Ancients, that the doctrines of a Providence, and future state, were the FOUNDATION of the more *secret* ones, after which we are now enquiring.

I have been the more particular in refuting this notion, that the secret doctrines of the *Schools*, and of the *Mysteries* might be the same; because I find it to be an error, into which some, even of the most knowing of the Ancients, were apt to fall.

^y See B. III. Sect. 2.

^z See B. III. Sect. 4.

What misled them, was, 1. That the *Schools* and *Mysteries* both pretended to restore the soul to its original purity and perfection. We have seen how much the *Mysteries* pretended to it. As to the Philosophers, Porphyry, speaking of Pythagoras, tells us, that “ he professed philosophy, whose end is to free “ and vindicate the soul from those chains and con- “ finements, to which its abode with us hath made it “ subject ^a.” 2. That the *Schools* and *Mysteries* had each their *bidden* doctrines, which went under the common name of ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ; and that, which had a common name, was understood to have a common nature. 3. And chiefly, that the Philosopher and Lawgiver, being frequently in one and the same person, and, consequently, the Institutions of the *Mysteries* and the *Schools* established by the same hand, it appeared reasonable to think, that the ἀπόρρητα, in both, were the same; they not distinguishing the twofold character of the ancient Sage, which shall be explained hereafter ^b.

II. Having, from the discovery of the general end and purpose of these SECRETS, seen what they could not be, we shall now be enabled to find what, in fact, they were.

To begin with a passage of Clemens Alexandrinus.—“ After these (namely, lustrations) are the “ LESSER *Mysteries*, in which is laid the FOUNDA- “ TION of the *bidden doctrines*, and preparations for “ what is to come afterwards ^c.” From a knowledge of the *foundation*, we may be able to form an idea of the *superstructure*. This foundation (as hath been shewn) was the belief of a Providence, and fu-

^a Φιλοσοφίαν δ' ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ἥς ὁ σκοπὸς, εὐσασθαι καὶ διελθευθεῖν τῶν τοιούτων εἰρημῶν τε καὶ συνδέσμων τὸν καὶ ἀκαχεχωρισμένον ἡμῶν γέν. *De Vita Pythag.*

^b See B. III. Sect. 2.

^c Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινα ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ προπαρασκευῆς τῶν μελλόντων. *Strom.* v. Ἀγὼν γὰρ καὶ ὁ προαγών, καὶ μυστήρια τὰ πρὸ μυστηρίων. *Strom.* i.

ture state; and, its consequence on practice, inducement to a virtuous life. But there was one insuperable obstacle to a life of purity and holiness, the vicious examples of their Gods. EGO HOMUNCIO HOC NON FACEREM^d? was the absolving Formula, whenever any one was resolved to give a loose to his appetites^e. But the mischief went still farther; They not only thought themselves excused by the example, but even drawn, by a divine impulse of their Gods. When the young man in the *Aulularia* of Plautus apologises to Euclio for having debauched his Daughter, he says

“Deus mihi IMPULSOR fuit, Is me ad illam
“ILLEKIT^f.

And by a passage in his *Amphitruo*, where he makes Mercury joke upon the office of a Parasite in the description he gives of his own obsequiousness to his father Jupiter, we see it was grown up into an avowed Principle.

“Amanti [patri] supparasitor, hortor, asto, ad-
“moneo, gaudeo.

“Siquid patri volup' est, voluptas ea mihi multo
“maxima est.

^d Terence, *Eun.* act. iii. sc. v.---Euripides puts this argument into the mouth of several of his speakers, up and down his tragedies. Helen, in the ivth act of *the Trojan dames*, says, “How could I resist a Goddess, whom Jupiter himself obeys?” Ion, in his play of that name, in the latter end of the first act, speaks to the same purpose: and in the vth act of *Hercules Furens*, Theseus comforts his friend by the examples of the crimes of the Gods. See likewise his *Hippolytus*, act. ii. sc. ii. The learned and ingenious Mr. Seward, in his tract of *the conformity between popery and paganism*, has taken notice of a difficult passage in this tragedy, which he has very ably explained, on the system here delivered of the detection of polytheism in the sacred *Mysteries*.

^e —ὁ δὲ πολὺς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρα λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ πάσχει θάτερον, ἢ καὶ ἀφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ κυλινδούμενων· ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ παρανομωμάτων ἐξουδὺν ἀπέχεται, θεοῖς ὁρῶν αὐτὰ προσκείμενα. Dion. Halicar. apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 8.

^f Act 4. Sc. 10.

“Amat

“ Amat, sapit : recte facit, animo quando obsequitur suo^g.

He then addresses himself to the audience, and tells them gravely, that men, in like manner, after the example of Jupiter, should indulge their passions, where they can do it decently.—

“ Quod omnes homines facere OPORTET, dum id modo fiat bono.”

And the licentious rites, in the OPEN worship of their Gods, gave still greater encouragement to these conclusions. Plato, in his book *Of Laws*, forbids drinking to excess; unless, says he, during the feasts of Bacchus, and in honour of that God^h. And Aristotle, in his *Politics*, having blamed all lewd and obscene images and pictures, excepts those of the Gods, which Religion had sanctified. When St. Austinⁱ had quoted the *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem*, to shew his adversaries what mischief these stories did to the morals of the people; he makes the defenders of Paganism reply, that it was true; but then (say they) these things were only taught in the Fables of the poets, which, an attention to the MYSTERIES would rectify: “ At enim non traduntur ista SACRIS deorum, sed Fabulis poetarum^k.”

For the *Mysteries* professed to exact nothing difficult, of the initiated^l, which they would not assist him to perform. It was necessary, then, to re-

^g Act. iii. Sc. iv.
Dei, L. II. Cap. 7—8.

^h Lib. vi.

ⁱ Civ.

^k This the *Father* could not deny; but observes, however, that in the THEN corrupt state of the *Mysteries* the remedy was become part of the disease: “ Nolo dicere ILLA MYSTICA quam ista theatrica esse turpiora.”

^l Ἄλλ' ἔσομαι διὰ τὴν τελετὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐτοιμότατος. Sopat. in *Div. Quæst.* Καθάπερ ἄλλω μυστηρίῳ προελεσθεὶς τῇ σιωπῇ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων λοιπὸν τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον ἐκάθαιρον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν τῶν θεῶν τελετὴν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐκκλίνει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐσώδαζον. Sopat. ibidem.

medy this evil; which they did, by striking at the root of it. So that, such of the *Initiated* as were judged capable, were made acquainted with the whole delusion. The MYSTAGOGUE taught them, that Jupiter, Mercury, Bacchus, Venus, Mars, and the whole rabble of licentious Deities, were only DEAD MORTALS; subject, in life, to the same passions and infirmities with themselves; but having been, on other accounts, Benefactors to mankind, grateful Posterity had deified them; and, with their virtues, had indiscreetly canonized their vices. The fabulous Gods being thus routed, the supreme cause of all things naturally took their place. HIM they were taught to consider as the Creator of the Universe, who pervaded all things by his virtue, and governed all by his power. But here it must be observed, that the discovery of this *supreme Cause* they made to be consistent with the notion of local tutelary Deities, Beings superior to men, and inferior to God, and by him set over the several parts of his creation. This was an opinion universally holden by learned Antiquity, and never brought into question by any Theist. What the ἀπορρησία overthrew in their reformed theology, was the vulgar polytheism, the worship of dead men. From this time, the initiated had the title of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ, by which was meant *one that sees things as they are, and without disguise*; whereas before, he was called ΜΥΣΤΗΣ, which has a contrary signification.

But, besides the prevention of vice, their bringing the Initiated acquainted with the national Gods had another important use, which was to excite them to HEROIC VIRTUE, by shewing them what honours the benefactors of nations had acquired, by the free exercise of it. And this (as will be shewn hereafter) was the chief reason why Princes, Statesmen, and Leaders of colonies and armies all aspired to be partakers of the GREATER MYSTERIES.

Thus

Thus we see, how what was taught and required in the *lesser Mysteries*, became the foundation of instruction in the GREATER: the obligation to a good life *there*, made it necessary to remove the errors of vulgar polytheism *here*; and the doctrine of a Providence taught previously in *those*, facilitated the reception of the sole Cause of all things, when finally revealed in *these*.

Such were the TRUTHS which Varro, as quoted above, tells us it was inexpedient for the People to know: for indeed he supposed, the error of vulgar Polytheism to be so inveterate, that it was not to be expelled without throwing Society into convulsions. But Plato spoke out: he owned it to be “difficult” to find the Father and Creator of the universe: “and, when found, impossible to discover him to “all the world’.”

Besides, there was another reason why the Institutors of the *Mysteries*, who were LAWGIVERS, should be for secreting this truth. They themselves had the chief hand in the rise of vulgar Polytheism^m. They contrived it for the sake of the State; and to keep the people in awe, under a greater veneration for their laws. *This* Polytheism, the poets had depraved, by inventing or recording vicious stories of the Gods and Heroes, which the Lawgivers were willing should be stifledⁿ. And they were only

^l Τὸν μὲν ἔν ποιήσιν καὶ πατέρα τῶδε τῷ πάντος εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρύσσει εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. *In Timæo.*

^m See the second Section of this Book.

ⁿ Plato has a remarkable passage to this purpose. Speaking, in the beginning of his xith book *Of Laws*, concerning theft, and fraud, and rapine, he takes notice of the popular stories told of Mercury, as if he delighted in such things, and patronized those who did; the philosopher says they are not true; and cautions men from being led away by such pretended examples. However, to make all sure, he takes up the method of the *mysteries*, and adds, that if, indeed, Mercury did, or encouraged such things, he was neither a God, nor of celestial original.—κλοπῇ

such stories, that, in their opinion, (as may be seen in Plato) made polytheism hurtful to the State.

Scævola, that most learned Pontifex, as St. Austin calls him, gives this very account of the matter, where he says, There were three Systems concerning the Gods, the *Poetic*, the *Philosophic*, and the *Civil*: the first he says was *nugatory*, and therefore hurtful to the virtue of the State: the second *incongruous* to public establishments, by creating disorder and confusion in the speculative opinions of the People; such as the teaching them, promiscuously, that the Popular Gods were dead men deified. The directors of the *third* System therefore prevented the mischiefs of the *first* by such a partial communication of the *second* System, as was necessary for that purpose °.

That this account of the SECRET, in the *greater Mysteries*, is no precarious hypothesis, standing on mere conjecture, I shall now endeavour to shew,

First, from the clear evidence of Antiquity, which expressly informs us of these two particulars; That the ERRORS OF POLYTHEISM were detected, and the DOCTRINE OF THE UNITY was taught and explained in the *Mysteries*. But here it is to be observed, that

μὲν χρημάτων, ἀνελεύθερον, ἀρπαγὴ δὲ, ἀναίσχυτον· τῶν Διὸς δὲ υἱῶν
ἔδειξεν ὅτι δόλοισι, ἔτε βία χαίρων ἐπιστεγέδευκε τέτοιον ἑδέτερον· μηδαίς ἔν
ὑπὸ ποιητῶν, μηδ' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τινῶν μυθολόγων, πλεμμελῶν περὶ τὰ τοι-
αῦτα, ἐξαπαλῶμεν· ἀναπειθέσθω· καὶ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμεθ', οἷόςθω μηδὲν
αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ δρῶσιν. ἔτε γὰρ ἀληθές, ἔτ' εἰκός·
ἀλλ' ὅστις δρᾷ τοιοῦτον παρανόμως, ἔτε θεός, ἔτε παῖς ἐστὶ ποτε θεῶν.

° Relatum est in literas; doctissimum Pontificem Scævolam disputasse tria genera tradita Deorum; unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse—Secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeant aliqua—quæ obsit populis nosse—Quæ sunt autem illa quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? “Hæc, inquit; non esse
“ deos Herculem, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem: proditur
“ enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint, & humana conditione de-
“ fecerint.”—Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 27.

when

when the Ancients speak of *Mysteries* indefinitely, they generally mean the *greater*.

It hath been shewn, that the Grecian and Asiatic *Mysteries* came originally from Egypt. Now of the EGYPTIAN, St. Austin giveth us this remarkable account.——“Of the same nature, too, are those
“things which Alexander of Macedon wrote to his
“mother, as revealed unto him by one LEO^p, chief
“Hierophant of the Egyptian *Mysteries*: whereby
“it appeared, that not only such as Picus, and
“Faunus, and Æneas, and Romulus, nay Hercu-
“les, and Æsculapius, and Bacchus the son of Se-
“mele, and Castor, and Pollux, and all others of
“the same rank, had been advanced, from the con-
“dition of mortal Men, into Gods; but that even
“those Deities of the higher order, the *Dii majorum*
“*gentium*, those whom Cicero, without naming,
“seems to hint at, in his *Tusculans*, such as Jupiter,
“Juno, Saturn, Neptune, Vulcan, Vesta, and ma-
“ny others (whom Varro endeavours to allegorize
“into the elements or parts of the world) were, in
“truth, only deceased mortals. But the Priest be-
“ing under great fears and apprehensions, while he
“was telling this, as conscious that he was betray-
“ing the SECRET OF THE MYSTERIES, begged of
“Alexander, when he found that he intended to

^p It is not unlikely but this might be a name of office. Porphyry, in his ivth book *Of Abstinence*, informs us, that the priests of the *Mysteries* of Mithras were called *Lions*; the priestesses *Lionesses*; and the inferior ministers, *Ravens*. Τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ὀργάνων μύσας, Λεόνιας καλεῖν· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, Λεαίνας· τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρεταῖας, Κόρακας: for there was a great conformity, in the practices and ceremonies of the several *Mysteries*, throughout the whole pagan world. And this conjecture is supported by a passage in Eunapius, which seems to say, that it was unlawful to reveal the name of the Hierophant.——τὴν δὲ Ἱεροφάντην, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὅστις ἦν τήνομα ἔμοι θέμις λέγειν—in *Maximo*.—It looks as if the corruptions and debaucheries of some of the *Mysteries*, in later times, had made this further provision for *secrecy*.

“communicate it to his mother^a, that he would
 “enjoin her to burn the letter, as soon as she had
 “read it.”

To understand the concluding part, we are to know, that Cyprian (who has also preserved this curious anecdote) tells us, it was the dread of Alexander’s power which extorted the secret from the hierophant^b.

^a I suppose this communication to his Mother, might be with a purpose to let her understand, that he was no longer the dupe of her fine story of Jupiter’s invasion, and the intrigue of his divine original. For Eratosthenes, according to Plutarch, says, that Olympias, when she brought Alexander on his way to the army, in his first military expedition, acquainted him, in private, with this secret of his birth; and exhorted him to behave himself as became the son of Jupiter Hammon. This, I suppose, Alexander might boast of to the Priest, and so the murder came out.

^b In eo genere sunt etiam illa quæ Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem, sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Ægyptiorum quodam LEONE patefacta: ubi non Picus & Faunus, & Æneas & Romulus, vel etiam Hercules & Æsculapius, & Liber Semele natus, & Tyndaridæ fratres, & si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent; sed ipsi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero in Tusculanis, tacitis nominibus, videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Vesta, & alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes five elementa transferre, homines fuisse produci. Timens enim & ille quasi revelata mysteria, petens admonet Alexandrum, ut cum ea mari conscripta insinuaverit, flammis jubeat concremari. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

^c —metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote SECRETUM. *De Idol. Ven.* But this is a mistake, at least it is expressed inaccurately. What was extorted by the dread of Alexander’s power, was not the *secret* (which the initiated had a right to) but the Priest’s consent that he should *communicate* the secret to another, which was contrary to the laws of the *Mysteries*. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, appears to refer to this very Epistle of Alexander to his Mother, where he says,—Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, φησὶν γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας ἀπορρήτας, αἷς ἐπανελθὼν φεάσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. “Alexander in the Epistle says, that there were certain Oracular Mysteries imparted to him, which on his return he would communicate to her under the same seal of secrecy.” For at this time the *Mysteries* foretold the future, as well as revealed the past.

But

But Tully brings the matter home to the ELEUSINIAN *Mysteries* themselves. “What (says he) is
 “not almost all Heaven, not to carry on this detail
 “any further, filled with the Human race? But if
 “I should search and examine Antiquity, and from
 “those things which the grecian writers have deli-
 “vered, go to the bottom of this affair, it would
 “be found, that even those very Gods themselves
 “who are deemed the *Dii majorum gentium*, had
 “their original here below; and ascended from hence
 “into Heaven. Enquire, to whom those Sepulchres
 “belong, which are so commonly shewn in Greece¹.
 “REMEMBER, for you are initiated, WHAT YOU
 “HAVE BEEN TAUGHT IN THE MYSTERIES; YOU
 “WILL THEN AT LENGTH UNDERSTAND HOW FAR
 “THIS MATTER MAY BE CARRIED².” Indeed, he

¹ Alluding to that of Jupiter in Crete.

² Quid? totum prope cœlum, ne plures persequar, nonne humano genere completum est? Si vero scrutari vetera, & ex his ea, quæ scriptores *Græciæ* prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipsi illi, majorum gentium Dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperiuntur. Quære, quorum demonstrantur sepulchra in *Græciâ*: REMINISCERE, QUONIAM ES INITIATUS QUÆ TRADANTUR MYSTERIIS; TUM DENIQUE QUAM HOC LATE PATEAT, INTELLIGES. *Tusc. Disp.* lib. i. cap. 13. — Paul Ernest Jablonski, a learned German Divine, in his book called *Pantheon Ægyptiorum, sive de Diis eorum Commentarius*, having taken it into his head, for some reason or other, to contend, that the Ægyptian Gods were not *dead men deified*, thought rightly that this account of the *Mysteries* stood in his way. “Inter omnia argumenta (says he) quibus utuntur viri docti, ad probandum, Ægyptios coluisse homines, post mortem divinis honoribus, donatos illud sine dubio primum meretur locum, quod ex MYSTERIIS Græcorum et ipsorum quoque Ægyptiorum petiturum est. Observavit nempe Theologus Anglus præstantissimus, omnique doctrinæ genere cultus, in Mysteriis Græcorum, hanc etiam initiatis doctrinam tradi consuevisse, Deos illos, quos vulgo adorarent omnes, re ipsa mortales extitisse homines, idque testimoniis quibusdam e CICERONE perquam opportune allatis demonstrasse, et extra omnem dubitationis aleam posuisse videtur. He then quotes this passage of the *Tuscular questions*, and the following from the first book, *of the nature of the Gods*; and thus proceeds—

carries it further himself; for he tells us, in another place, that not only the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, but the *Samothracian* likewise, and the *Lemnian*

Cui quidem loco ex priori, lux est accendenda. Juebantur ergo omnes, initiati Græcorum Mysteriis, credere Deos quos Græcia coleret cunctos, in lucem hanc aliquando editos fuisse, inter homines vixisse et tandem mortem quoque oppetiisse. All this is said with the candour of a true scholar. How unlike to that miserable chicane lately published at home on this question! Where things are denied no less incontestible than that two and two make four. However the learned Doctor *Jablonski* must not desert his System. His first evasion therefore of the force arising from my account of the *Mysteries* is this,—I had represented them as the invention of Legislators; and had shewn that it was the practice of ancient Lawgivers and Philosophers to teach one doctrine openly and another secretly. Having got me at this advantage, Who knows then, says he, Whether these Institutors of the *Mysteries* believed what they taught? But hear him in his own words—“At quæri non immerito potest, fuerintne Legislatores & Conditores Mysteriorum, de eo, quod credere volebant alios, ipsi certo persuasi. Docere nos voluit ingeniosus ille Auctor, qui arcana Mysteriorum Eleusiniarum nobis non sine successu explicare conatus est, Legislatores et Philosophos veteres permulta suis inculcasse, et vehementer commendasse, quæ credebant hominibus fore utilia, etiamsi ea reipsa judicarent esse falsa. *Quid vetat nos credere ex illorum numero fuisse etiam doctrinam in Mysteriis traditam de mortalibus ad honores divinos evectis—* Prologom. Sect. xiii.—Nay I know of nothing that *binders us from believing*, but common sense: Which assures us, that if these Men practised the method of the *double doctrine*, one set of opinions taught publicly to all, and another secretly to a few select Auditors, in whom they could particularly confide, the opinions *believed* by them were certainly the latter. But he has another evasion, in support of his System. Tho’ the *Grecian Mysteries* taught the human nature of the National Gods, how does it appear that the *Egyptian Mysteries* taught the same? I answer, From the *Grecian Mysteries* being borrowed from the *Egyptian*, and from a thousand testimonies besides; particularly from the famous transaction between Alexander the Great and Leo the Egyptian priest. This the learned Writer considers as a fable, a very ready way of getting rid of difficulties which obstruct our Systems.—He endeavours to prove, that in the accounts which *Minutius Felix* and *Athenagoras* give of this matter, there were some circumstances inconsistent with the avowed history of Alexander: and from thence he concludes—“Ita ad constituendam illam Fabellam, mendaciis merisque figmentis opus erat. Sect. xv. taught

taught the error of polytheism, agreeably to this system; which supposes all the *Mysteries* derived from the same original, and instituted for the same ends.

But if this be sufficient to convict the adventure of imposture, the best attested facts of Antiquity will be in danger; such, for instance, as the defeat of Julian's impious purpose to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem; to the true circumstances of which defeat, the Relators of it have added many very fabulous and absurd. However he acknowledges, that if Alexander did write such a Letter to his mother, the Fact will admit no further controversy. But the Letter, he says, was a forgery of some indiscreet Christian Writers, who being notorious Tricksters, and at the same time got into the general Opinion that the *national Gods of the Pagans were dead men*—what then?—“*Estne igitur mirum Tenebrionem nescio quem, in eorum gratiam talem Alexandri Epistolam confinxisse, eamque postea certatim alios in usum suum convertisse.*” Sect. xvi. Falsarys, of whatever time or profession, I suppose never forge but to supply some imaginary or real want. Thus these Christian Falsarys (as this learned writer observes) forged some *Sibylline Oracles* and books of *Hermes Trismegistus*. But why did they so? Because they foolishly imagined the FAITH wanted some support from the Prophecies and doctrines of the Pagans themselves. But with regard to the Opinion that *their Gods were dead men deified*, the Prophane Writings of best Authority were now full. Nothing therefore can be less founded than this suspicion. His next argument against the authenticity of the EPISTLE is indeed a pleasant one. If, says he, the ancient Philosophers had known any thing of this *Epistle*, their eternal disputations concerning the essence, nature and origine of the *Egyptian Gods* must have been at an end. “*Si Epistola illa, quam Patres laudant, genuina esset, tum quæstio de essentia, natura, & origine Deorum Ægyptiorum quæ veteres Philosophos tan opere exercuit, sic decisa et penitus finita fuisset, ut nemini amplius dubium superesse potuerit.*” Sect. xvi. Did not the ancient Philosophers dispute full as much concerning the Essence, nature and origin of the *Grecian Gods*? And yet this learned Writer confesses that the *Grecian Mysteries* taught that they were *dead men deified*. He must know little of the temper of the ancient Philosophers, who supposes that even an ORACLE, whether without or within the walls of the *Mysteries*, (for oracular Responses were given there as well as at Delphi) could stop them in the career of Disputation. Cicero, (we know) who is the Representative of them all, did not suffer his knowledge of what the *Eleusinian Mysteries* taught, to debar him from advancing a hundred different tenets and conjectures concerning the essence, nature and origine both of the *Egyptian* and *Grecian GODS*.

“ What think you (says he) of those who assert, that
 “ valiant, or famous, or powerful men have obtain-
 “ ed divine honours after death; and that these are
 “ the very Gods, now become the object of our
 “ worship, our prayers, and adoration? EUHEME-
 “ RUS tells us, when these Gods died, and where they
 “ lie buried. *I forbear to speak of the sacred and au-*

But, continues the learned Doctor, “ none of the prophane Writers, Greek or Roman, ever mention this Epistle.” “ Non certe videmus unquam aliquem ad hoc oraculum confugere, aut ejus vel levissimam mentionem facere; non Varronem—non Ciceronem—non Di dorum Siculum—non Plutarchum”—Sect. xvi. Nothing indeed is more common, yet nothing is more sophistical, than to argue against a fact recorded by one single Ancient, or by one set of Ancients, because we cannot find it in any other. As if we had all Antiquity before us, and did not know that a few fragments only, of that rich Cargo remain, of the Wreck of Barbarous Times. Beside, the silence (on this head) in those fragments we have gathered up, may be naturally accounted for. What the *Mysteries* every where taught was so well known to the Learned, from numerous and authentic testimonies, concerning the *Eleusinian* and others, that it was nothing strange that neither Varro, Cicero, nor Diodorus Siculus should take any particular notice of this EPISTLE. I do not put *Plutarch* into the number of the silent, because the learned Dr. himself is forced to confess that, in the opinion of some learned men, this Ancient hath alluded to the Epistle in question. The words of Plutarch quoted above run thus, *Alexander in his Epistle to his mother says, that there were certain Oracular Mysteries imparted to him, which, on his return, he would communicate to her under the same seal of Secrecy.* Our learned Dr. thinks otherwise: and that what is said, in the *Epistle* quoted by Plutarch, means the response of a *Common Oracle*; while the *Epistle* mentioned by the Christian Writers refers to what Alexander learnt in the *Mysteries*. “ Verum an dices, obsecro, hanc esse Epistolam illam, quam Patres laudant? Sed in hac agebatur de doctrinis Mysticis Theologiæ Aegyptiorum, ante non auditis, in illa, Sermo tantum est de divinationibus et prædictionibus sibi divinitus factis,” &c. Sect. xvi. This slender reasoning, is spun out of his ignorance, that the words, *μυστικὰς ἀπορρήτους*, here used by Plutarch, can only signify *Oracles delivered in the celebration of the Mysteries*. The case was this, The Hierophants of the Mysteries had by this time, to invite custom, erected *their* Oracles also, like to those at the other public Shrines of the Gods: Of which, an account is given elsewhere.

“ *gust*

“ *gust rites of ELEUSIS—I pass by Samothrace, and*
 “ *the Mysteries of Lemnos, whose hidden rites are*
 “ *celebrated in darkness, and amidst the thick shades of*
 “ *groves and forests* ^w. ”

^w Quid, qui aut fortes, aut claros aut potentes viros tradunt,
pst mortem ad Deos venisse, eosque esse ipsos, quos nos colere,
precari, venerarique soleamus—Ab Euhemero & mortes & sepul-
turæ demonstrantur deorum. Omitto Eleusinem sanctam illam &
augustam—Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque

Quæ Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur

Silvestribus sepibus densa. De Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 42.

The words that follow, are, “ *Quibus explicatis ad rationem-*
 “ *que revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum.* ”
 Which M. Pluche, in his *Histoire du Ciel*, brings to prove, that
 the purpose of the *Mysteries* was not to explain the nature of the
 Gods ; and translates thus, “ *Quand ces mysteres sont expliqués*
 “ *& ramenés à leur vrai sens, il se trouve que c’est moins la na-*
 “ *ture des Dieux, qu’on nous y apprend, que la nature des choses*
 “ *mêmes, ou des vérités dont nous avons besoin.* ” p. 401. *Hist.*
du Ciel, seconde edit. But had he attended to the dispute carried
 on in the dialogue, from whence these words of Cicero are
 quoted, he could hardly have thus grossly mistaken the sense of his
 author. The reader has now the whole passage before him ; in
 which it is said, that Euhemerus taught the nature of the Gods ;
 that they were dead men deified : and in which, it is clearly
 enough intimated, that the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian Mysteries*
 taught the same doctrine. Yet, according to this translator, Tul-
 ly immediately adds, that, “ *when these Mysteries are explained*
 “ *and brought back to their true sense, it is found, that not so*
 “ *much the nature of the Gods is taught in them, as the nature*
 “ *of things, or those truths which our wants require us to be in-*
 “ *structed in.* ” That is, the *Mysteries did*, and they *did not* teach
 the nature of the Gods. But it is not for such kind of prate that
 Cicero has been so long admired. The words, *quibus explicatis,*
ad rationemque revocatis, &c. have a quite different meaning. Vel-
 leius, the Epicurean, had undertaken to explain the nature of the
 Gods. Cotta, the Academic, shews, in his answer, that, under
 pretence of teaching the nature of the Gods, he, Velleius, took
 away all Religion ; just as those did, who said, the notion of the
 Gods was invented by Politicians, for the use of Society ; just as
 Prodicus Chius did, who said, men made Gods of every thing
 they found beneficial to them ; just as Euhemerus did, who said,
 they were dead men deified : I forbear (says Cotta) to speak of
 what is taught in the *Mysteries* : and then follow the words in

Julius

Julius Firmicus, speaks much to the same purpose, and even more directly, Adhuc supersunt aliæ superstitiones, quarum secreta pandenda sunt Liberi & Liberæ, quæ omnia sacris sensibus vestris specialiter intimanda sunt, ut in istis profanis religionibus sciatis MORTES ESSE HOMINUM CONSECRATAS. *Liber* itaque, Jovis fuit filius, regis scil. Cretici, &c^x.

What hath been here said, will let us into the meaning of Plutarch's hint, in the following words of his tract *Concerning the ceasing of oracles*. "As
" to the *Mysteries*, in whose representations the true
" NATURE OF DEMONS is clearly and accurately held

question: " Quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum
" magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum." That is, " If you
" will weigh (says Cotta) and consider all these opinions, so like
" your own, they will lead you to the knowledge, not of the
" nature of the Gods, which you, Velleius, proposed to dis-
" course of, but to the nature of things, which is quite another
" consideration." Or, in clearer terms, it was, he tells us, Velleius's drift to bring men from *Religion* to *Naturalism*. This observation is to the purpose; and shews that Velleius had deviated from his argument. But what M. Pluche makes him say, is to no body's purpose but his own. In a word, *quibus explicatis* &c. relates to all that Cotta had said of the Epicureans—of those who made religion the invention of Statesmen—of Prodicus Chius—of Euhemerus, and of the *Mysteries*. But M. Pluche makes it relate only to the *Mysteries*. It had hardly been worth while to mention this M. Pluche, had it not been evident, that his purpose in this interpretation of Cicero was to disguise the liberty he took of transcribing the general explanation of the MYSTERIES, as delivered in the first edition of this volume, printed in 1738, into the *second* edition (for when he published the *first*, he knew nothing of the matter) of his book, called *Histoire du Ciel*, printed 1741, without the least notice or acknowledgment. But for a further account of this piece of plagiarism, I refer the reader to a discourse, intitled *Observations sur l'explication que M. l'Abbé Pluche donne des mysteres & de la mythologie des payens dans son Histoire du Ciel*, written with much judgment and solidity, by M. de Silhouette: who has intirely subverted M. Pluche's fanciful system, as well as proved, that he took his idea of the *Mysteries* from the *Divine Legation*. It is in the fifth dissertation of a work, intitled *Dissertations sur l'union de la religion, de la morale, & de la politique*.

^x De errore profan. relig. cap. vi.

" forth,

“ forth, a sacred silence, to use an expression of Herodotus, is to be observed ^y.” All this well illustrates a passage in Lucian’s *Council of the Gods*; when, after Momus had ridiculed the monstrous Deities of Egypt, Jupiter replies, “ It is true, these are abominable things, which you mention of the Egyptian Worship. But then, consider, Momus, that much of it is *enigmatical*; and so, consequently, a very unfit subject for the buffoonry of the Prophane and Uninitiated.” To which, the other answers with much spirit, “ Yes, indeed, we have great occasion for the MYSTERIES, to know that Gods are Gods, and monsters, monsters ^z.”

Thus far in detection of the vulgar Polytheism.— With regard to the other part of the SECRET, the doctrine of the UNITY, Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that the Egyptian Mystagogues taught it amongst their *greater secrets*. “ The Egyptians (says he) did not use to reveal their *Mysteries* indiscriminately to all, nor expose their truths concerning their Gods to the Prophane, but to those only who were to succeed to the administration of the State: and to such of the Priests as were most approved, by their education, learning, and quality ^a.”

But, to come to the Grecian *Mysteries*. Chrysippus, as quoted by the author of the *Etymol. magnum*, speaks to this purpose. “ And Chrysippus

^y Περὶ τῶν μυσικῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, εὐτομαί μοι κείσθω, καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον. P. 742. Steph. edit.

^z Αἰσχροὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φησὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅμως δ’ ἔν, ὧ Μῶμε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνιγματὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἑ πάνυ χρηὴ καὶ αἰαγελᾶν ἀμύητον ὄντα. ΜΩΜ. Πάνυ γὰρ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ, ὧ Ζεῦ, δεῖ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἶδέναι θεῶς μὲν τῆς θεῆς κυνοκεφαλῆς δὲ τοὺς κυνοκεφαλῆς.

^a Αἰγύπτιοι ἑ τοῖς ἐπίλυχῃσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀνελίθετο μυστήρια ἔδεν μὲν βεβήλοις τὴν τῶν θεῶν εἶδῃσιν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν προΐεναι καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κριθεῖσιν εἶναι δοκιμασίαις ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῆς γένεως. Strom. lib. v. p. 566. edit. Lut.

“ says, that the secret doctrines concerning divine
 “ matters, are rightly called ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ, for that
 “ these are the last things the initiated should be in-
 “ formed of: The soul having gained an able sup-
 “ port; and, being possessed of her desires^b, can
 “ keep silent before the Uninitiated and Prophane^c.”
 To the same purpose, Clemens: “ The doctrines
 “ delivered in the *greater Mysteries*, are concerning
 “ the UNIVERSE. Here all instruction ends. Things
 “ are seen as they are; and Nature, and the things
 “ of Nature, are given to be comprehended^d.”

Strabo having said^e, that *Nature dictated to men the institution of the Mysteries*, as well as the other rites of Religion, gives this remarkable reason for his assertion, “ that the secret celebration of the
 “ *Mysteries* preserves the majesty due to the Divini-
 “ ty, and, at the same time, imitates its nature,
 “ which hides itself from our senses^f.” A plain intimation of what kind the *secret* was. But had there been any ambiguity, he presently removes it, where, speaking of the different faculties exercised in the different rites of Religion, he makes *Philosophy* to be the object of the *Mysteries*^g. Plutarch expressly says, that the FIRST CAUSE of all things is communicated to those who approach the temple

^b i. e. mistress of herself.

^c Χρύσιππος δὲ φησὶ, τὰς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγους εἰκότως καλεῖσθαι τελετάς· χρῆναι γὰρ τέτλες τελευταίας, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσι διδάσκεισθαι· τῆς ψυχῆς ἐχέσης ἔρμα, καὶ κεκρατημένης, καὶ πρὸς ἀμύητας σιωπᾶν δυναμένης· μέγα γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἄθλον, ὑπερθεῶν ἀκῆσαι τε ὄρεσθαι, καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. *Etymol. Auctor*, in ΤΕΛΕΤΗ.

^d Τὰ δὲ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν συμπάντων· ὃ μανθάνειν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ καὶ περινοεῖν τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *Strom.* v.

^e ἡ φύσις ἔτως ὑπαγορεύει. *lib.* x.

^f ἥτε κρύψις ἡ μυτική, τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μιμημένη τὴν φύσιν αὐτῇ ἐκφεύγουσαν ἡμῶν τὴν αἴσθησιν. Here Strabo takes in all that is said, both of the *Gods*, and of *nature*, in the two preceding passages from Chrysippus and Clemens; and shews that by *nature* is not meant the *cosmical* but *theological* nature.

^g —καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

of

of Isis with prudence and sanctity^h. By which words he means, the *necessary qualifications for Initiation*.

We have seen Tully expressly declaring, that the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian Mysteries* were partly employed in detecting the error of Polytheism. We shall now find Galen intimating, not obscurely, that the doctrine of the divine nature was taught in those very *Mysteries*. In his excellent tract *Of the use of the parts* of the human body, he has these words—
 “The study, therefore, of *the use of the parts*, is
 “not only of service to the mere physician, but of
 “much greater to him who joins Philosophy to the
 “art of healing; and, in order to perfect himself
 “in this *Mystery*, labours to investigate the *univer-*
 “*sal Nature*. They who *initiate* themselves here,
 “whether private men or bodies, will find, in my
 “opinion, nobler instruction than in the rites either
 “of ELEUSIS or SAMOTHRACEⁱ.” By which he means, that the study of the *use of the parts of animals*, leads us easier and sooner up to the knowledge of the FIRST CAUSE, than the most venerable of the *Mysteries*, such as the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian*. A clear implication, that to lead men thither was their special business.

But this seems to have been so well known to the learned in the time of EUSEBIUS, that where this writer takes occasion to observe, that the Hebrews were the only people whose object, in their *public and national worship*, was the GOD OF THE UNI-

^h —ὀνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσείον ὡς εἰσόμενον τὸ ὄν, ἂν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τῆς θεᾶς. ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣ.

ⁱ καὶ ἐν ἱατρῷ μόνον ἢ περὶ χρείαις μορίων ἐστὶ πραγματεία χρησίμη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἱατρῷ φιλοσόφῳ, τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ἐπιστήμην κλήσασθαι σπεύδοντι, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν χρὴ τελεῖσθαι τὴν τελευτήν, ἀπανίας γὰρ, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ κατ' ἔθνη, καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοι τι μυῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς, εἶδεν ὁμοίον ἔχουσιν Ἐλευσινίοις τε καὶ Σαμοθρακίοις ὑργίοις. Gal. *De usu par.* lib. xvii. Petit, instead of ὅσοι τι μυῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς, reads very ingeniously ὅσοι τι μυῶσιν ἑαυτῶν.

VERSE, he suits his whole expression, by one continued metaphor, to the usages of the *Mysteries*. “For the Hebrew people alone (says he) was reserved the honour of being INITIATED into the knowledge of God the Creator of all things, and of being instructed in the practice of true piety towards him^k.” Where, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑ, which sig-

^k μόνω δὲ τῷ Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναλειτουργοῦσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τῶν τῶν ὅλων ποιητῆς καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεῶ, καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. *Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 9.* Eusebius says, Scripture tells us this, τὸτο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι λόγοι. And so indeed it does even in the general tenor of its history. But I am persuaded this learned writer had his eye on some particular passage; probably on the xlvth chapter of *Isaiab*, where the prophet foretelling the conquests of *Cyrus*, and the exaltation of his Empire, apostrophizes the God of *Israel* in this manner, *Verily thou art a God THAT HIDEST THYSELF, O God of Israel, the Saviour*, ver. 15. This was said with great propriety of the Creator of all things, the subject of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or *Secret*, in all the *Mysteries* throughout the *Gentile World*; and particularly of those of *Mithras*, in that Country which was the scene of the prophecy. That this is the true sense of this obscure passage, appears from the following words of the same chapter, where God himself addresseth the Jewish people: *I have not spoken IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE of the earth: I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me IN VAIN*, ver. 19. This was said, to shew that he was taught amongst them in a different way from that participation of his Nature to a few select *Gentiles*, in their *Mysteries*; celebrated in *secret*, and in dark subterraneous places; which not being done in order to give him glory, by promoting his public and general worship, was done in *vain*. These were the two places, (explained by one another) which, I presume, furnished Eusebius with his observation, *That for the Hebrew people alone was reserved the honour of being initiated into the knowledge of God the Creator of all Things, and of being instructed in the practice of true piety towards him.*—This naturally leads us to the explanation of those oracles of *Apollo*, quoted by Eusebius [*Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. x.*] from *Porphyrus*; the sense of which neither those ancient writers, nor our Sir *John Marsham* seem rightly to have understood. The first is in these Words,

Αἰπεινὴ γὰρ ὁδὸς μακάρων, τρηχεῖά τε πολλὴν,
Χαλκοδέτοις τὰ πρῶτα διοιγομένη πυλεῶσιν.
Ἀλκαπῖτοί δὲ ἔασιν ἀθέσφατοι ἐγγεγαυῖαι,
Ἄς πρῶτοι μερόπων ἐπ’ ἀπείρονα πρῆξιν ἔφυσαν
Οἱ τὸ καλὸν πίνοντες ὕδωρ Νειλῶτιδος αἵης.

nifies

nifies the inspection of the secret; ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, the contemplation of it; and ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, the Creator, the subject of it, are all words appropriated to the secret of the greater Mysteries.

The Way to the Knowledge of the Divine Nature is extremely rugged, and of difficult Ascent. The Entrance is secured by brazen gates, opening to the adventurer; and the winding roads, to be passed thro', impossible to be describ'd. These, to the vast benefit of mankind, were first marked out by the EGYPTIANS.

The second is as follows:

Μῆνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λάχον ἢδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
 Αὐτογένεθλον ἄνακτα σεβάζόμενοι Θεὸν ἄγνως.

True wisdom was the lot only of the CHALDEANS and HEBREWS, who worship the Governor of the world, the self-existent Deity, with pure and holy rites.

Marsham, supposing after Eusebius, that the SAME THING was spoken of in both the Oracles, says, *Certe nulla est controversia quin περὶ μοναρχίας, de unius regimine sive de unico Deo, reverens fuerit & rectissima Ebræorum, non item recta Egyptiorum existimatio.* And again,—*Verum Apollo parum sibi constans.* [Canon. Chron. p. 255—6. edit. Fr.] because in the one Oracle, the Egyptians are said to be the first; and in the other, the Chaldeans and Hebrews the only People who knew the true God. But they are very consistent; they treat of DIFFERENT THINGS: The first, of the Knowledge of the true God; and the second, of his public Worship. This appears by the different terms in which the Oracles are delivered: The Hebrews, whom the Oracle calls Chaldeans, were well known to be the only people who publicly worshiped the true God. But the knowledge of him being likewise taught, tho' to few, all over the Gentile world, and only in the Mysteries, and the Mysteries coming, as we have shewn, originally from Egypt, the Oracle says, that the Egyptians first taught men the knowledge of the divine Natures. But that it was in this way, his words plainly intimate:

Ἀτραπίλοι δὲ ἔασσιν ἀθέσφατοι ἐγχεσάνται,

which exactly describe the embarrassed and perplexed condition of the Initiated before they came to the participation of this knowledge. But when the same Oracle speaks of the Hebrews' knowledge of God, he uses a very different language,

σεβάζόμενοι Θεὸν ἄγνως,

evidently respecting the calm and settled state of public worship. I will only observe, that the frights and terrors to which the initiated were exposed, gave birth to all those metaphorical terms of Difficulty and Danger so constantly employed by the Greek writers, whenever they speak of the Communication of the true God.

JOSEPHUS

JOSEPHUS is still more exprefs. He tells Appion, that that high and fublime knowledge, which the Gentiles with difficulty attained unto, in the rare and temporary celebration of their *Mysteries*, was habitually taught to the Jews, at all times. And what was this fublime knowledge, but the doctrine of the UNITY? “Can any Government (fays he) be
 “more holy than this? or any Religion better ad-
 “apted to the nature of the Deity? Where, in any
 “place but in this, are the whole People, by the
 “fpecial diligence of the Priests, to whom the care
 “of public instruction is committed, accurately
 “taught the principles of true piety? So that the
 “body-politic feems, as it were, one great *Assembly*,
 “constantly kept together, for the celebration of
 “fome facred *Mysteries*. For thofe things which the
 “Gentiles keep up for a few days only, that is, du-
 “ring thofe folemnities they call MYSTERIES and INI-
 “TIATIONS, we, with vaft delight, and a plenitude
 “of knowledge, which admits of no error, fully en-
 “joy, and perpetually contemplate through the
 “whole courfe of our lives. If you ask (continues
 “he) the nature of thofe things, which in our facred
 “rites are enjoined and forbidden; I answer they
 “are fimple, and eafily underftood. The firft in-
 “ftruction relates to the DEITY, and teaches that
 “GOD CONTAINS ALL THINGS, and is a Being every
 “way perfect and happy: that he is felf-exiftent,
 “and the SOLE CAUSE of all exiftence; the begin-
 “ning, the middle, and the end of all things¹,”
 &c.

Ἰ Τίς ἂν ἔν ἀρχῇ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ Θεῷ τιμὴ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζουσα, πάντος μὲν τῷ πλήθους κατεσκευασμένον πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερέων πεποιημένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τινος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας οἰκονομημένης; ἃ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιηδεύοντες ἀλλόφυλοι φυλάττειν ἢ δύναται, μυστήρια καὶ τελεταὶ ὀνομάζονται, ταῦτα μὲν πολλῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμελαπείσθαι φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς διὰ τὸ πάντος αἰῶνος. τίνες ἔν εἰσιν αἱ προῤῥήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἀπ-

Nothing

Nothing can be more explicit than the testimony of this learned Jew. He not only alludes to the *greater Mysteries*, by the direct terms of τελετῆς and μυστήρια, but uses several expressions relative to what the gentile *Mystagogues* taught therein; such as ἄλλοφυλοι φυλάττειν & δύνανται, referring to the unfitness of the doctrine of the unity for general instruction: such as μετὰ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς, in contradiction to what they taught of the labours, pain, and difficulties to be encountered by those who aspired to the knowledge of the first cause: such as ἀπλαῖ καὶ γνώριμοι, in contradiction to what they taught of the great intricacy and obscurity of the question: and such, again, as ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα, the characteristic of the ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ of the *Mysteries*.

Thus, I think, it appears, that the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, in the *greater mysteries*, were the detection of the origine of vulgar *Polytheism*^m; and the discovery of the doctrine of the *Unity*ⁿ.

λαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται περὶ Θεῶ, λέγουσα, ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα παντὸς καὶ μακάριον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσι αὐτάρεκτος, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσος, καὶ τέλος πάντων. *Cont. Ap. lib. ii. cap. 22.*

^m What hath been said will give light to a strange story told by Thucydides, Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, Justin, and others, of a debauch and night-ramble of Alcibiades, just before his expedition to Syracuse. In which, they say, he revealed to, and acted over with, his companions, the *Mysteries of Ceres*: that he assumed the office of *Hierophant*, and called some of those he initiated Μύσαι, and others, Ἐπόπται: and that, lastly, they broke all the statues of Hermes. These are mentioned by the Historians as distinct actions, and unconnected with one another. But now we see their relation, and how one arose from the other: for Alcibiades having revealed the origine of *Polytheism* and the doctrine of the *Unity* to his companions, nothing was more natural than for men, heated with wine, to run forth, in a kind of religious fury, and break the statues of their idols. For, what he acted over, was the celebration of the *greater mysteries*, as appears from Plutarch's calling them the *Mysteries of Ceres*, she presiding in the *greater*, as Proserpine presided in the *lesser*; and from Alcibiades's calling some Ἐπόπται, the name of those who participated of the *greater Mysteries*.
ⁿ See this account supported, and the objections to it clearly confuted, in a well reasoned tract lately printed, intitled, *A Dissertation on the ancient Pagan Mysteries*.

But now I have gone thus far, I will venture one step further; and undertake to give the very HISTORY repeated, and the very HYMN sung, on these occasions, to the *initiated*. In the *first* of which was delivered the true origine and progress of VULGAR POLYTHEISM; and in the *other*, the doctrine of the UNITY.

For I am much mistaken, if that celebrated fragment of SANCHONIATHO, the Phœnician, translated by Philo-Byblius, and preserved by Eusebius, containing a genealogical account of the first ages, be not that very HISTORY; as it was wont to be read to the *initiated*, in the celebration of the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician Mysteries*. The purpose of it being to inform us, that their popular Gods (whose chronicle is there given according to their generations) were only dead men deified.

And as this curious and authentic *record* (for such we shall find it was) not only serves to illustrate the subject we are now upon, but will be of use to support what is said hereafter of the rise, progress, and order of the several species of ancient idolatry, it may not be improper to give a short extract of it in this place.

I. He tells us then, that, “of the two first mortals, Protogonus and Æon, (the latter of whom was the author of seeking and procuring food from forest-trees) were begotten Genos and Genea. These, in the time of great droughts, stretched their hands upwards to the sun, whom they regarded as a God, and sole ruler of the heavens. From these, after two or three generations, came Upsouranios and his brother Ousous. One of them invented the art of building cottages of reeds and rushes; the other the art of making garments of the skins of wild beasts. In their time, violent tempests of wind and rain having rubbed the large branches of the forest-trees against one another, they took fire, and burnt up the woods.

woods. Of the bare trunks of trees, they first made vessels to pass the waters : they consecrated two pillars to FIRE and WIND, and then offered bloody sacrifices to them as to Gods ⁿ." And here let it be observed, that this *worship of the Elements* and heavenly Bodies is truly represented as the FIRST species of idolatry.

II. "After many generations, came Chryfor; and he likewise invented many things useful to civil life; for which, after his decease, he was worshipped as a God ^o. Then flourished Ouranos and his sister Ge; who deified and offered sacrifices to their father, Upsistos, when he had been torn in pieces by wild beasts ^p. Afterwards Cronos consecrated Muth his son, and was himself consecrated by his subjects. ^q" And this is as truly represented to be the SECOND species of idolatry; the *worship of dead men*.

III. He goes on, and says, that "Ouranos was the inventor of the Bætylia, a kind of animated stones, framed with great art ^r. And that Taautus

ⁿ Αἰῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον θνητὸς ἄνδρας, ἔτῳ καλεσμένους· εὐρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τροφήν. ἐκ τούτων τὰς γενομένας κληθῆναι Γένος, καὶ Γενεάν—αὐχμῶν δὲ γενομένων, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγειν εἰς ἕραντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. τῆτον γὰρ, φησὶ, θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἕραντῃ κύριον—εἰτά φησι τὸν Ὑψιφάνιον οἰκῆσαι Τύρον, καλύβας τε ἐπινόησαι ἀπὸ καλάμων, καὶ θρύων, καὶ παπύρων· τασιάσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Οὐσῶν. ὃς σκέπην τῷ σώματι πρῶτον· ἐκ δερμάτων ὧν ἴσχυσε συλλαβεῖν θηρίων εὖρε. ῥαγδαίων δὲ γενομένων ὁμῶρων καὶ πνευμάτων παρὰ τρεῖς ἐβόη· τὰ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ δένδρα πῦρ ἀνάψαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι ὕλην καὶ ἀφλέσαι. δένδρα δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Ὀσῶν καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θάλασσαν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ δύο σήλας πυρὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ἅμα τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς, ἐξ ὧν ἠγρενε θηρία.

^o —ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφὸς σιδήρεα εὐρείας, καὶ τῆς τέτταρτος ἐργασίας· ὧν θάτερον τὸν Ἡφαιστον. εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀγκιστρον, καὶ δέλεαρ, καὶ ὀρμιάν, καὶ σχεδία· πρῶτον τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι. διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μέγα θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν.

^p Ο δὲ τέτων πατήρ ὁ Ὑψιστος ἐκ συμβολῆς θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερῶθη, ὃ καὶ χοῆς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν.

^q —Καὶ μετ' ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἕτερον αὐτῶν παῖδα ἀπὸ Πέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μῦθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιερῶι—Κρόνον· τοίνυν, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τῆ βίης τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀστέρα καθιερωθείς.

^r ἔτι δὲ, φησὶν, ἐπινόησε Θεὸς Οὐρανὸς Βασιλεύς, λίθους ἐμφύχους μηχανησάμενος—

formed allegoric figures, characters, and images of the celestial Gods and elements^s." In which is delivered the THIRD species of idolatry, *statue and brute worship*. For by the animated stones, is meant stones cut into a human shape^t; brute, unformed stones being before this invention consecrated and adored. As by Taautus's invention of allegoric figures, is insinuated (what was truly the fact) the origine of brute worship^u from the use of HIEROGLYPHICS.

This is a very short and imperfect extract of the *Fragment*; many particulars, to avoid tediousness, are omitted, which would much support what we are upon, particularly a minute detail of the principal arts invented for the use of civil life. But what has been selected on this head will afford a good comment to a celebrated passage of Cicero, quoted, in this section, on another occasion.—As the two important doctrines, taught *in secret*, were the detection of *Polytheism*, and the discovery of the *Unity*; so, the two capital doctrines taught more *openly*, were the origin of Society with the arts of life, and the existence of the soul after death, in a state of reward or punishments. These latter doctrines Tully hints at in the following words: “—mihi cum multa ex-
“ mia divinaque videntur Athenæ peperisse—tum
“ nihil melius illis *Mysteriis*, quibus ex AGRESTI im-
“ manique vita EXCULTI ad humanitatem & miti-
“ gati sumus:—neque solum cum lætitia vivendi
“ rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore
“ moriendi^w.” The Fragment explains what Tully

^s —πρὸ δὲ τούτων θεὸς Ταυτὸς μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν τῶν θεῶν ὄψεις, Κρόνον τε καὶ Δαγῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διέλυσε τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν σοι-
χείων χαρακτῆρας, &c.

^t So when the Egyptians first saw the Grecian artists separate the legs of their statues, they put fetters on them, to prevent their running away.

^u See *Div. Leg.* book iv. § 4.

^w *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 14.

meant by *men's being drawn by the Mysteries from an irrational and savage life, and tamed, as it were, and broken to humanity*. It was, we see, by the information given them, concerning the origine of SOCIETY, and the Inventors of the ARTS OF LIFE; and the rewards they received from grateful Posterity, for having made themselves Benefactors to mankind. Tully, who thought this a strong excitement to public virtue, provides for it in his *Laws*:—"Divos & eos qui cælestes semper habiti, colunto: & ollos, quos endo cælo MERITA locaverunt Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium^x." &c.

The reasons which induce me to think this Fragment the very *History* narrated to the Ἐπίπλοι, in the celebration of the *greater Mysteries*, are these:

1. It bears an exact conformity with what the Ancients tell us that *History* contained in general, namely, an instruction, that all the national Gods, as well those *majorum* (such as Hypsistus, Ouranos, and Cronos) as those *minorum gentium*, were only dead men deified: together with a recommendation of the advantages of civil life above the state of nature, and an excitement to the most considerable of the initiated (the *summatibus viris*, as Macrobius calls them) to procure it. And these two ends are served together, in the history of the rise and progress of idolatry as delivered in this Fragment. In the date it gives to the origine of idolatry, they were instructed that the two first mortals were not idolaters, and consequently, that idolatry was the corruption of a better Religion; a matter of importance, where the purpose was to discredit Polytheism. The History shews us too, that this had the common fate of all corruptions, of falling from bad to worse, from *elementary* worship to *human*, and from *human* to *brutal*. But this was not enough; it was necessary too to expose the unreason-

^x *De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 8.*

^ableness of all these modes of superstition. And as this could be only done by shewing what gave birth to the several species's, we are told, that not any occult or metaphysic influences of the heavenly or elementary Bodies upon men, but their common physical effects felt by us, occasioned the first worship to be paid unto them: that no imaginary Divinity in the minds of patriarchs and heroes occasioned Posterity to bring them into the number of the Gods; but a warm sense of gratitude for what they had invented for the introduction and promotion of civil life: and that even *brute-worship* was brought in without the least consideration to the animal, but as its figure was a symbol only of the properties of the two other species's. Again, in order to recommend civil life, and to excite men to promote it's advantages, a lively picture is given of his miserable condition; and how obnoxious he was, in that state, to the rage of all the elements, and how imperfectly, while he continued in it, he could, with all his industry, fence against them, by food of acorns, by cottages of reeds, and by garments of skins: a matter the *Mysteries* thought so necessary to be impressed, that we find, by Diodorus Siculus, there was a scenical representation of this state exhibited in their SHEWS. And what stronger excitement had heroic minds, than to be taught, (as they are in this Fragment) that public benefits to their fellow-creatures were rewarded with immortality. As all these things, therefore, so essential to the instruction of the *Mysteries*, are here taught with an art and disposition peculiarly calculated to promote those ends, we have reason to conclude, that this History was composed for the use of the *Mysteries*.

2. My second reason for supposing it to be that very History, is, our being told, that Sanchoniatho transcribed the account from secret records, kept in the penetralia of the temples, and written in a sacred sacerdotal

sacerdotal character, called the Ammonean^y, from the place where they were first deposited; (which, as Marsham reasonably supposes, was Ammonno, or Thebes, in Egypt^z) a kind of writing employed, as we have shewn elsewhere, by the Hierophants of the *Mysteries*.

3. Thirdly, we are informed, that this sacred commentary was composed by the CABIRI, at the command, and by the direction of, Thoth^a. Now These were the principal Hierophants of the *Mysteries*. The name CABIRI is, indeed, used by the Ancients, to signify indifferently three several persons; the GODS, in whose honour the *Mysteries* were instituted; the INSTITUTORS of the *Mysteries*; and the principal HIEROPHANTS who officiated in them. In the first sense we find it used by Herodotus, who speaks of the images [of the *Cabiri* in the Egyptian temples^b; and by the scholiast on Apollonius, who tells us, there were four samothracian *Cabiri*, Axieros, Axiokerfa, Axiokerfos, and Casmilus; that is to say, Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and Mercury. Pausanias, in his *Beotics*, uses the word in the second sense, where he makes mention of the *Cabiri* Prometheus and his son Ætnæus, to whom was committed the sacred deposit of the *Mysteries* by Ceres^c. And Strabo uses it in the third sense,

^y — ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὐρεθεῖσαν ἀποκρύφους Ἀμμονέων γράμμασι συγχειμένοις, αἱ δὲ ἔκ ἧν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἥσκησε.

^z Chron. Can. p. 234. Lond. edit.

^a Ταῦτα δὲ, φησὶ, πρῶτοι πάντων ὑπερνημαλίσαντο οἱ ἐπὶ Σιδεὶ παῖδες ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ, καὶ ὄγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐνεείλατο θεὸς Ταυρὸς.

^b Καμβύσης—ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερόν, ἐς τὸ εἰς θεμιτόν ἐστι εἰσέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱερέα. ταῦτα δὲ τ' ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε, πολλὰ καίλασκαψας. lib. iii. cap. 37.

^c Πόλιν γὰρ ποτε ἐν τῇ τῷ Φασίν εἶναι τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ἄνδρας ὑνομαζομένους Καβείρας. Προμθεῖ δὲ ἐν τῶν Καβειραίων καὶ Αἰταίῳ τῷ Προμηθεὺς ἀφικομένην Δήμητραν ἐς γνῶσιν παρακαλαθέσθαι σφίσιν. ἥτις μὲν δὴ ἦν ἡ παρακαλαθήκη, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν γινόμενα, ἔκ ἐφείνετο ὅσιόν μοι γράφειν. Δημητρός γὰρ Καβειραίοις δῶρόν ἐστιν ἡ τελεή. *Basit.* lib. ix. cap. 25.

where he speaks of the *Cabiri* as Ministers in the sacred *Mysteries*^d. It is no wonder there should be this difference amongst the ancients in their accounts of these Wights. *Cabiri* was a sacred appellation, which was transferred from the *God* of the Mysteries, through the *Institutors* of them, down to the *Ministers* who officiated in them. And in this last sense it is used by Sanchoniatho. The same kind of confusion, and proceeding from the same cause, we find in the ancient accounts concerning the founder of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, as we shall see hereafter; Some ascribing the institution to Ceres or Triptolemus, the Gods in whose honour they were celebrated; others, to Erectheus, who, indeed, founded them: and others again, to Eumolpus and Musæus, the first who ministred there in the office of Hierophants.

4. But, fourthly and lastly, We are told, that when this genealogical history came into the hands of a certain son of Thabion, the first Hierophant on record amongst the Phœnicians, he, after having corrupted it with allegories, and intermixed physical and cosmical affections with historical (that is, made the one significative of the other) DELIVERED IT TO THE PROPHETS OF THE ORGIES, AND THE HIEROPHANTS OF THE MYSTERIES; who left it to their successors (one of which was Osiris) and to the Initiated^e. So that now we have an express testimony for the fact here advanced, that this was the very

^d — τῶν μὲν, τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς Κερῆσι τὰς Κορύβαντας καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ καὶ Ἰδαίης Δακτύλους, καὶ Τελχῖνας ἀποφαινόντων· τῶν δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ μικρὰς τινας αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς διασελλόων. lib. x.

^e Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίων παῖς, πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος γεγονότων Φοινικῶν ἱεροφάντης ἀλληγορήσας, τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν ἀναμίξας παρέδωκε τοῖς ΟΡΓΙΩΣΙ καὶ ΤΕΛΕΤΩΝ κατάρχουσι ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙΣ. οἱ δὲ τὸν τύπον αὐξέν ἐκ παντὸς ἐπινοήσας, τοῖς αὐτῶν διαδόχοις παρέδωσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐπεισάκτοις. ὧ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν.

history read to the ΕΠΙΟΙΤΑΙ in the celebration of the great *Mysteries*.

But one thing is too remarkable to pass by unobserved: and that is, Sanchoniatho's account of the corruption of this History with *allegories* and *physical affections*, by one of his own countrymen; and of it's delivery, in that state, to the Egyptians, (for Isis is the same as Osiris) who corrupted it still more. That the Pagan Mythology was, indeed, thus corrupted, I have shewn at large, in several parts of this work: but I believe, not so early as is here pretended; which makes me suspect that Sanchoniatho lived in a later age than his interpreter, Philo, assigns to him. And what confirms me in this suspicion, is that mark of national vanity and partiality, common to after-times, in making the *Mysteries* of his own country original, and conveyed from Phœnicia to Egypt. Whereas it is very certain, they came first from Egypt. But of this elsewhere. However, let the reader take notice, that the question concerning the *antiquity* of Sanchoniatho does not at all affect our inference concerning the nature and use of this History^f.

We

^f A criticism of that very knowing and sagacious writer, father Simon of the Oratory, will shew the reader how groundless the suspicions of learned men are concerning the genuineness of this Fragment. Father Simon imagines that Porphyry forged the history of Sanchoniatho, under the name of a translation by Philo Byblius; and conjectures that his purpose in so doing was to support Paganism; by taking from it, its *Mythology* and *Allegories*, which the Christian writers perpetually objected to it. “Il se
“peut faire—pour repondre aux objections qu’on leur faisoit de
“toutes parts, sur ce, que leur Theologie etoit une pure Mytho-
“logie—ils remonterent jusques aux tems qui avoient precedé
“les allegories & les fictions des sacrificateurs.” *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. p. 140. But this learned man totally mistakes the matter. The Christians objected to vulgar Paganism, that the stories told of their Gods, were *immoral*. To this their Priests and Philosophers replied, that these stories were only *mythologic Allegories*, which veiled all the great truths of *Theology*, *Ethics*, and *Physics*. The Christians said, this could not be; for that the stories
of

We now come to the HYMN celebrating the Unity of the Godhead, which was sung in the *Eleusinian Mysteries* by the Hierophant, habited like the CREATOR^g. And this, I take^h to be the little ORPHIC poem quoted by Clemens Alexandrinusⁱ and Eusebius^k; which begins thus: “I will declare a SE-
 “CRET to the Initiated; but let the doors be shut
 “against the profane. But thou, O Musæus, the
 “offspring of bright Selene, attend carefully to my
 “song; for I shall deliver the truth without dis-
 “guise. Suffer not, therefore, thy former preju-
 “dices to debar thee of that happy life, which the
 “knowledge of these sublime truths will procure
 “unto thee: but carefully contemplate this divine

of the Gods had a *substantial foundation in fact*, these Gods being only dead men deified, who, in life, had like passions and infirmities with other mortals. For the truth of which they appealed to such writers as Sanchoniatho, who had given the History both of their mortal and immortal stations and conditions. How then could so acute an adversary as Porphyry, deeply engaged in this controversy, so far mistake the state of the question, and grounds of his defence, as to forge a book in support of his cause, which totally overthrew it?

^g Ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ’ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ μυστηρίοις, ὁ μὲν Ἱεραφάνης εἰς εἰκόνα τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐνσκευάζεται. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. A passage in Porphyry well explains this of Eusebius, and shews by what kind of personage the *Creator* was represented; and that this, like all the rest, was of Egyptian original; and introduced into these secret mysteries, for the reason above explained. Τὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάλιν τοιαῦτά φησιν ἔχειν σύμβολα. Τὸν ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΤΟΝ, ὃν Κνήφ, οἱ Αἰγυπτῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΕΙΔΗ, τὴν δὲ χροιάν ἐκ κυανῆ μέλανος ἔχοντα, κραίνοντα ζώνην καὶ σκῆπτρον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πλερόν βασιλείου περικείμενον, ΟΤΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΥΣΕΤΡΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΚΡΥΜΕΝΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΦΑΝΟΣ, καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιός, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὅτι νοερώς κινεῖται· διὸ καὶ τῷ πλερῷ φέσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται. apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. cap. ii.

^h M. Voltaire, in his remarks on his fine Tragedy of *Olympia*, has done me the honour of advancing this conjecture into a certainty; and what is more, of a known and acknowledged fact. “On chantait (says he) *l’Hymne de Orphee*”—and then gives it as he finds it here.—

ⁱ *Admonitio ad gentes.*

^k *Præp. Evang.* lib. xiii.

“Oracle,

“ Oracle, and preserve it in purity of mind and
 “ heart. Go on, in the right way, and contem-
 “ plate THE SOLE GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD: HE
 “ IS ONE, AND OF HIMSELF ALONE; AND TO THAT
 “ ONE ALL THINGS OWE THEIR BEING. HE OPE-
 “ RATES THROUGH ALL, WAS NEVER SEEN BY
 “ MORTAL EYES, BUT DOES HIMSELF SEE EVERY
 “ ONE ¹.”

The reasons which support my conjecture are these: 1. We learn from the scholiast on Aristophanes and others, that hymns were sung in the mysteries, and what were the subject of them. And Dion. Chrys. in his Oration De divina Civitate aut Gubernatione, says expressly, that in the Mithriac Mysteries the Magi sung an awful Hymn in which the glories of the supreme God who governs all things were celebrated ^m—And further says, that this knowledge of the *One supreme* was kept a SECRET amongst the *initiated* Persians. 2. Orpheus, as we have said, first brought the *Mysteries* from Egypt into Thrace, and even Religion itself: hence it was called Θρησκειά, as being supposed the invention of the Thracian. 3. The verses, which go under the name of Orpheus, are, at least, more ancient than Plato and Herodotus; though since interpolated. It was the common opinion, that they were genuine;

¹ Φθέγγομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, δύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις
 Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκων, φαειφόρῃ ἐκγονε μήνης,
 Μυσαῖ, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδὲ σε τὰ πρὶν
 Ἐν γήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνι ἀμέρῃ·
 Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τάτῳ προσέδρευε,
 Ἰθύωνν ἡραδίνης νοερὸν κύτῳ· εὐ δ' ἐπίβαινε
 Ἀτραπίῃ. μῦθον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἀνακλῖα.
 Εἰς δ' ἔς' αὐτογενῆς, ἐνὸς ἐκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιίσσεται· ὅδε τις αὐτὸν
 Εἰσοράα θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ γε πάντας ὁρᾷται.

^m μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελεταῖς ὑπὸ Μαίγων ἀνθρώπων ἄδεται θαυμαζόμενος. οἱ τὸν θεὸν τῶτον ὑμνεσιν ὡς τελείοντε καὶ πρῶτον ἡνίοχον τὰ τελειοτάτη ἀρεμῆτος.

and

and those who doubted of that, yet gave them to the earliest Pythagoreansⁿ. 4. The subject of them are the *Mysterie*, under the several titles of Ὁρονισμοὶ μὴρῶοι, τελέαι, ἱερὸς λόγος, and ἡ εἰς αὐτὰ καλὰ βασίς. 5. Pausanias tells us, that Orpheus's hymns were sung in the rites of Ceres, in preference to Homer's, though more elegant, for the reasons given above^p. 6. This hymn is addressed to Musæus, his disciple, who was said, though falsely, to institute the *Mysterie*s at Athens, as his master had done in Thrace^q; and begins with the *formula* used by the Mystagogue on that occasion, warning the PROPHANE to keep at distance: and in the fourth line, mentions that *new life or regeneration*, to which the Initiated were taught to aspire. 7. No other original than singing the hymns of Orpheus in the *Eleusinian Mysterie*s, can be well imagined of that popular opinion, mentioned by Theodoret, that Orpheus instituted *those Mysterie*s^r, when the Athenians had such certain records of another Founder. 8. We are told that one article of the Athenians' charge against Diagoras for revealing the *Mysterie*s, was his making the *Orphic-speech*, or hymn, the subject of his common conversation^s. 9. But lastly, the account, which Clemens

ⁿ Laertius in *Vita Pythag.* and Suidas, voce Ὀρφεύς.

^o The following passage of Dion. Chrys. will explain the meaning of this Ὁρονισμός — Καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλαμένῳ ΘΡΟΝΙΣΜΩ, καθίσαντες τὰς μυημένους οἱ τελευταί, κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν. *Orat.* xii.

^p Ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἤδη τὰς Ὀρφείας ὕμνους οἶδεν ὅληας, ἑκάστων τε αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, καὶ τὸ σύνπαν ἐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολὺν πεποιημένους. Λυκομήδαι δὲ ἰσασί τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο αὐτῶν, μετὰ Ὀμήρου γε τὰς ὕμνους τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τῶν θείων καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐκείνων ἔχουσι. *Pausan.* lib. ix. cap. 30. sub. fin. and again, to the same purpose, cap. 27.

^q Tertull. *Apol.*

^r See note p. 138.

^s Διαγόρα μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἐνεκάλεον Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν ΟΡΦΙΚΟΝ εἰς μέσον καλαλιθέντι ΛΟΓΟΝ, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Καδείρων δημευομένη μυθήρια. *Athenagoras in Legat.*

gives of this hymn, seems to put the matter out of question: his words are these: “ But the Thracian
 “ Myftagogue, who was at the fame time a poet,
 “ Orpheus, the fon of Oeager, after he had opened
 “ the *Mysteries*, and fung the whole THEOLOGY OF
 “ IDOLS, recants all he had faid, and introduceth
 “ TRUTH. The Sacred then truly begin, though
 “ late, and thus he enters upon the matter^t.” To
 underftand the force of this paffage, we are to know,
 that the Myftagogue explained the representations in
 the *Mysteries*; where, as we learn from Apuleius^u,
 the fupernal and infernal Gods paffed in review. To
 each of thefe they fung an hymn; which Clemens
 calls the *theology of images*, or *idols*. Thefe are yet
 to be feen amongft the works afcribed to Orpheus.
 When all this was over, then came the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ,
 delivered in the HYMN in queftion. And, after
 that, the Affembly was difmiffed, with thefe two
 barbarous words, ΚΟΤΕ ΟΜΠΙΑΞ, which fhews the
Mysteries not to have been originally Greek. The
 learned Mr. Le Clerc well obferves, that this feems
 to be only an ill pronounciation of *kots* and *omphets*,
 which, he tells us, fignify in the Phoenician tongue,
watch and abftain from evil^w.

Thus the reader is brought acquainted with the
 end and ufe both of the *greater* and *leffer Mysteries*;
 and fees that, as well in what they *bid*, as in what
 they *divulged*, all aimed at the benefit of the State.
 To this end, they were to draw in as many as they
 could to their general participation; which they did
 by fpreading abroad the doctrine of a Providence,

^t Ὁ δὲ Θράκιος ἱεροφαντὴς καὶ ποιητὴς ἄμα, ὁ τῷ Οἰάγρῳ Ὀρφεύς, μετὰ
 τὴν τῶν Ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν, καὶ τῶν εἰδύλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινοῦσάν
 ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸν ἱερὸν ὅλως ὀψέ ποιεῖ, ὅμως δ' ἐν ἁδῶν λόγον. *Ad-*
mon. ad Gentes.

^u Accessi confinium mortis, deos inferos, & deos superos ac-
 cessi coram, & adoravi de proximo. *Met. lib. xi.*

^w *Bibl. Univ. tom. vi. p. 86.*

and a future state; and how much happier the Initiated should be, and what superior felicities they were intitled to, in another life. It was on this account that Antiquity is so full and express in this part. But then, they were to make those, they had got in, as virtuous as was possible; which they did, by discovering, to such as were judged capable of the *secret*, the whole delusion of Polytheism. Now this being supposed the shaking foundations, was to be done with all possible circumspection, and under the most tremendous seal of secrecy^x. For they taught, that the Gods themselves punished the *revealers of the SECRET*; and not them only, but the *bearers* of it likewise^y. Nor did they altogether trust to that alone: for, more effectually to curb an ungovernable curiosity, the State decreed capital punishment against the betrayers of the *Mysteries*, and inflicted it with merciless severity^z. The case of Diagoras, the Melian, is too remarkable to be omitted. This man had revealed the *Orphic* and *Eleusian Mysteries*: and so, passed with the people for an Atheist; which at once confirms what hath been said of the object of the *secret doctrines*, and of the mischief which would attend an indiscreet communication of them. For the charge of ATHEISM was the common lot of all those who communicated their knowledge of the *one only God*; whether they learnt it by natural light, or were afterwards taught it by *Revelation*. He likewise dissuaded his friends from being initiated into these rites: the consequence of

^x See cap. 20. of Meursius's *Eleusinia*.

^y — Quæras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum? Dicerem, si *dicere* liceret; cognosceres, si liceret *audire*; sed parem noxam contraherent *aures* & *linguæ temerariæ curiositatis*. Apul. *Met.* lib. xi.

^z Si quis arcanæ mysteria Cereris sacra vulgasset, lege morti addicebatur. — Τὸν ἐξερπύσσει τὰ μυστήρια τεθνάναι. Meminit hujus legis Sopater in Divisione quæstionis. Sam. Petit in *Leges Atticas*, P. 33.

which

which was, that the city of Athens proscribed him, and set a price upon his head^a. While Socrates, who preached up the latter part of this doctrine (and was on that account a reputed Atheist likewise) and Epicurus, who taught the former (and was a real one) were suffered, because they delivered their opinions only as points of philosophic speculation, amongst their followers, to live a long time unmolested. And to avoid the danger of those laws, which secured the *secret* of the Mysteries, was perhaps the reason why Socrates declined initiation^b. And this appearing a singular affectation, exposed him to much censure^c. But he declined it with his usual prudence. He remembered, that Æschylus^d, on a mere imagination of his having given a hint of something in the *Mysteries*, had like to have been torn in pieces on the stage by the people; and only escaped by an appeal to the Areopagus; which venerable court acquitted him of this dangerous Charge, on his proving that he had never been initiated. The famous EUHEMERUS, who assumed the same office of Hierophant to the People at large, with more boldness than Socrates, and more temper than Epicurus, employed another expedient to screen himself from the laws, though he fell, and not (like the rest) undeservedly^e, under the same imputation of *Atheism*. This

^a Suidas voce Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος — & etiam Athenagoras in *Legatione*.

^b For that he had a good opinion of the *Mysteries* appears from the *Phædo* of Plato.

^c Κατηγόρητες — ὅτε ἐμυήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἐλευσινίαις. Lucianus, *Demonastice*.

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. & Arist. lib. iii. cap. i. *Nicom. Eth.*

^e Some modern Critics think, with *Theophilus*, that Euhemerus was rightly charged with ATHEISM; some think, with *Clemens Alex.* that he was not. There is a circumstance in the case which seems to me decisive, and would incline one to conclude, concerning him, with the generality of the Ancients: It is this, that the earlier policy of the *Mysteries* and the later of the *Philosophers* concurring to think it expedient for the sake of Religion to keep

This man gave a fabulous relation of a voyage to the imaginary island of Panchæa^f, a kind of ancient Utopia; where, in a temple of Jupiter, he found a genealogical record, which discovered to him the births and deaths of the greater Gods; and, in short, every thing that the Hierophant revealed to the Initiated on this subject. Thus he too avoided the suspicion of a *betrayers of the Mysteries*. A character infamous in social life. And to this the Son of Sirac alludes, where he speaks of this species of infidelity in general^g—“Whofo discovereth SECRETS, “ [μυστήρια] loseth his credit, and shall never find “ friend to his mind.” This, therefore, is the reason why so little is to be met with, concerning the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ. Varro and Cicero, the two most inquisitive persons in antiquity, affording but a glimmering light. The *first* giving us a short account of the *cause* only of the SECRET, without mentioning the *doctrine*; and the *other*, a hint of the *doctrine*, without mentioning the *cause*.

But now a remarkable exception to all we have been saying, concerning the *secrecy* of the *Mysteries*, obtrudes itself upon us, in the case of the CRETANS; who, as Diodorus Siculus assures us, celebrated their *Mysteries* OPENLY, and taught their ἀπορρήτια without reserve. His words are these: “At Cnossus in “ Crete, it was provided for, by an ancient law, “ that these *Mysteries* should be shewn openly to all: “ and that those things, which in other places were “ delivered in secret, should be hid from none who

keep that truth a secret which Euhemerus divulged, He who, by divulging it, overthrew Paganism, and never troubled himself to substitute any other scheme of Public Worship in it's room, might fairly be supposed to intend the destruction of Religion in general.

^f Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

^g ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἀπώλεσε πίσιν, καὶ ἔ μὴ εὔρη φίλον πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς. Cap. xxvii. v. 15.

“ were desirous of knowing them^h.” But, as contrary as this seems to the principles delivered above, it will be found, on attentive reflection, altogether to confirm them. We have shewn, that the *great secret* was the detection of Polytheism; which was done by teaching the original of the Gods; their birth from mortals; and their advancement to divine honour, for benefits done to their Country, or Mankind. But it is to be observed, that the Cretans proclaimed this to all the world, by shewing, and boasting of the tomb of Jupiter himself, the *Father of Gods and Men*. How then could they tell that as a secret in their *Mysteries*, which they told to every one out of them? Nor is it less remarkable that the Cretans themselves, as Diodorus, in the same place, tells us, gave this very circumstance of their celebrating the *Mysteries openly* as a proof of their being the first who had consecrated dead mortals. “ These are the old stories which “ the Cretans tell of their Gods, who, they pretend “ to say, were born amongst them. And they urge “ this as an invincible reason to prove that the adoration, the worship, and the MYSTERIES of these “ Gods were first derived from Crete to the rest of “ the world; for, whereas, amongst the Athenians, “ those most illustrious *Mysteries* of all, called the “ *Eleusinian*, those of Samothrace, and those of the “ Ciconians in Thrace, of Orpheus’s institution, are “ all celebrated in SECRET: yet in Creteⁱ”——and

^h Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσσῷ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερῶς τὰς τελετάς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδεδομένα, παρ’ αὐτοῖς μηδένα κρύπτειν τῶν βυλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. *Biblioth. lib. v.*

ⁱ Περὶ μὲν ἔν τῶν θεῶν οἱ Κρήτες τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς λεγομένων γεννηθῆναι τοιαῦτα μυθολογεῖσι· τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους παραδεδόσθαι λέγοντες, τῷτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἴονται, μέγιστον τεκμήριον· τήντε γὰρ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένην τελετήν, ἐπιφανεστάτην σχεδὸν ἔσαν ἀπασῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ, καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κικόνει (ὅθεν ὁ καλαδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν) μυσικῶς παραδίδοσθαι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην —

so on as above. For it seems the Cretans were proud of their invention; and used this method to proclaim and perpetuate the notice of it. So when Pythagoras, as Porphyry^k informs us, had been initiated into the *Cretan mysteries*, and had continued in the *Idean* cave three times nine days, he wrote this epigram on the tomb of Jupiter,

Ὡδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.

Zan, whom men call Jupiter, lies here deceased.

It was this which so much exasperated the other Grecians against them; and gave birth to the common proverb of ΚΡΗΤΕΣ ΑΕΙ ΨΕΥΣΤΑΙ^l, *The Cretans are eternal liars*. For nothing could more affront these superstitious idolaters than asserting the fact, or more displease the politic protectors of the *Mysteries* than the divulging it^m.

^k *De vita Pythag. n. xvii.*

^l Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὃ ἀνα, σείο

Κρήτες ἐτεκλήναντο.

Callim. *Hymn. in Jovem.*

And Nonnus;

Οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ΨΕΥΔΗΜΟΝΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΙ,

Τετραπόμην Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶλλον ἤπεροπῆες. *Dionys. lib. viii.*

And Lucan;

Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis.

lib. viii.

^m The celebrated French Poet, in a late work intituled, *La Philosophie de L' Histoire*, c. 37. *Des Misteres de Ceres Eleusine*, hath done me the honour of giving his Reader an exact abridgement of all that is here said on the subject of the *Mysteries*: not as collected from the *Divine Legation*, but as the result of his own researches in Antiquity; save that when he speaks of the 6th Book of Virgil, he says—De tres savants hommes ont prouvé que le sixième livre de l' *Enéide* n'est que la peinture de ce qui se pratiquait dans ces spectacles [des *Misteres de Ceres Eleus.*] si secrets & si renommés: and when he speaks of the unity of the Godhead revealed in these *Mysteries* he says, Le savant Eveque Warburton, quoique tres injuste dans plusieurs de ses decisions audacieuses, donne beaucoup de force à tout ce que je viens de dire de la necessité de cacher le dogme de l'unite, &c.

My *audacious decisions* I suppose are nothing else than my unmasking the ignorance and ill faith of those moderns, which he and his Colleague D'Alembert constantly call THE PHILOSOPHERS, meaning thereby all kind of Unbelievers whatsoever.

The

The MYSTERIES then being of so great service to the state, we shall not be surprized to hear the wisest of the Ancients speaking highly in their commendation; and their ablest Lawgivers, and reformers, providing carefully for their support. “Ceres (says “Isocrates) hath made the Athenians two presents “of the greatest consequence: corn, which brought “us out of a state of brutality; and the MYSTE- “RIES, which teach the initiated to entertain the “most agreeable expectations touching death and “eternity.” And Plato introduceth Socrates speak- ing after this manner: “In my opinion, those who “established the MYSTERIES, whoever they were, “were well skilled in human nature. For in these “rites it was of old signified to the aspirants, that “those who died without being initiated, stuck fast “in mire and filth: but that he who was purified “and initiated, should, at his death, have his habi- “tation with the Gods.” And Tully thought them of such use to Society, for preserving and pro- pagating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, that in the law where he forbids nocturnal sacrifices offered by women, he makes an express exception for the *Mysteries* of Ceres, as well as for the sacrifices to the GOOD GODDESS. “Noc- “turna mulierum sacrificia ne fuinto, præter olla, “quæ pro populo rite fiant. Neve quem initiant, “nisi, ut assolet, Cereri, Græco sacro.” Which law he thus comments:—“M. But now, Titus, as “to what follows, I would fain know how you can “give your assent, or I blame you for with-holding

ⁿ Δήμητρῷ—δέσης δωρεὰς διτλάς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν ἔται-
 τας τε καρπὸς οἱ τῷ μὴ θνητωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἵτιοι γεγονῶσι· καὶ τὴν τελείην,
 ἧς οἱ μελέχουτες περὶ τε τῆς τῷ βίῃ τελευτῆς, καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι αἰῶνι
 ἡδίας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. *Panegy.*

^o Καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελείας ἡμῶν ἔτοι καλασθήσασιν, εἴ φανλοί
 τινες εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάλαι αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀμύνηται, καὶ ἀτέ-
 λος, εἰς ἅδην ἀφίκεται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται· ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένον τε καὶ
 τελεωσμένον, ἔκεισε ἀφικόμενον, μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. *In Phædron.*

“ it? *A.* What is that, I pray you? *M.* The
 “ law concerning the nocturnal sacrifices of women.
 “ *A.* I assent to it, especially as there is an express
 “ exception to the public and solemn sacrifice. *M.*
 “ What then will become of our *Eleusinian Rites*,
 “ those reverend and august *Mysteries*, if, indeed,
 “ we take away nocturnal celebrations? *For our*
 “ *laws are calculated, not only for the Roman, but*
 “ *for all just and well established policies.* *A.* I think
 “ you except those, into which we ourselves have
 “ been initiated. *M.* Doubtless I do: for as, in
 “ my opinion, your Athens hath produced many ex-
 “ cellent and even divine inventions, and applied
 “ them to the use of life; so has she given nothing
 “ better than those *Mysteries*, by which we are drawn
 “ from an irrational and savage life, and tamed, as
 “ it were, and broken to humanity. They are truly
 “ called *INITIA*, for they are indeed the beginnings
 “ of a life of reason and virtue. From whence we
 “ not only receive the benefits of a more comfort-
 “ able and elegant subsistence here, but are taught
 “ to *hope for, and aspire to a better life hereafter.*
 “ But what it is that displeases me in nocturnal rites,
 “ the comic poets will shew you^p. Which liberty
 “ of celebration, had it been permitted at Rome,

^p The common reading, in which all the mss. agree, is, *Quid mihi displiceat, INNOCENTES poetæ indicant comici.* Victorius conjectured, that, instead of *innocentes*, Tully wrote *IN NOCTURNIS*, which is certainly right. By the *poetæ comici*, I suppose Cicero meant the writers of the *NEW COMEDY*. The abuses he hints at, as perpetrated in the *Mysteries*, were of a libidinous kind: which occasioned an intrigue proper for the new comedy. And we may see by Fabricius's *Notitia comicorum deperditorum*, *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22. how frequently the writers of the new comedy laid the scene of their plots in a religious festival or *Mystery*. Plautus, who copied from them, opens the subject of his *Aulularia* in these words,

— Senex

Is adolescentis illius est avunculus,
 Qui eam stupravit noctu Cereris vigiliis.

“ what

“ what wickedness would not HE^a have attempted,
 “ who came with a premeditated purpose of indulg-
 “ ing his lust, to a Sacrifice where even the misbe-
 “ haviour^r of the eye was deeply criminal? ”

We have seen, that the other exception to this law against nocturnal sacrifices, was in favour of the rites performed to the GOOD GODDESS, called *the*

^a By *ille* is here meant P. Clodius, the mortal enemy of Cicero. So that his reasoning seems to stand thus—“ I allow an exception for the Eleusinian mysteries, on account of their great use to civil life. But yet their celebration in the night is attended with strange inconveniencies, as appears from the comic poets. And had this liberty of celebrating nocturnal rites by men and women promiscuously, as in the Eleusinian *Mysteries*, been practised in Rome, what enormities must we believe such a one as Clodius would have committed, who contrived to violate the nocturnal rites of the GOOD GODDESS, to which only women were admitted? ” For that the Grecian *Mysteries* were thus promiscuously celebrated, appears from what Dionysius Hal. observes of the purity of the early Roman worship; where no nocturnal vigil (says he) was kept promiscuously by men and women, in the celebration of their *Mysteries*.—*ἡ διαπανυχία σμὸς ἐν ἡγεσίς θεῶν, ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν*—

^r The Ancients esteemed *that* to be the greatest misbehaviour of the eye, where the sight of *men* obtruded, though only by accident, upon those *Mysteries*, which it was only lawful for *women* to behold.

^s M. At vero, quod sequitur, quomodo aut tu assentire, aut ego reprehendam, sane quaero, Tite, A. Quid tandem id est? M. De nocturnis sacrificiis mulierum. A. Ego vero assentior, excepto praesertim in ipsa lege solemnī sacrificio ac publico. M. Quid ergo aget Iacchus Eumolpidæque nostri, & augusta illa mysteria, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus? non enim populo Romano, sed omnibus bonis firmisque populis leges damus. A. Excipis, credo, illa, quibus ipsi initiati sumus. M. Ego vero excipiam. Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vitæ exculi ad humanitatem, & mitigati sumus; initiaque, ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus; neque solum cum lætitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. Quid autem mihi displiceat IN NOCTURNIS, Poëtæ indicant Comici. Qua licentia Romæ data, quidnam egisset ille, qui in sacrificium cogitatam libidinem intulit, quo ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas fuit? *De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 14.*

public and solemn sacrifice. This was offered pro populo, for the safety of the people. So that Cicero, ranking the *Eleusinian* with these rites, appears to have thought them in the number of such as were celebrated for the public safety. Solon, the famous lawgiver of Athens, long before him, had the same high opinion of these *Mysteries*, as is seen by the care he took of their regulation; and so had Prætextatus, a most accomplished Roman magistrate, long after him: For when his master, Valentinian, had divided the Empire with his brother, and projected a general reform of the laws, and, amongst the rest, had forbid NOCTURNAL SACRIFICES; he was persuaded by Prætextatus, who governed for him in Greece, to make an exception for the *Mysteries of Ceres*; which had been brought to Rome very early^t, and incorporated into the national worship^u, and long afterwards regulated anew by the wise emperor Hadrian^w.

Zosimus tells the story in this manner: “The
 “supreme power being thus divided, Valentinian
 “entered on his new command with a more serious
 “attention to his office. He reformed the Magi-
 “stracy, he regulated the Revenue, and, by a rigid
 “exaction of the Duties, secured the pay of the sol-
 “diery, which arose out of that fund: and having
 “determined likewise to new model and promulge
 “the imperial Institutes, *beginning*, as they say, from
 “the foundation, he forbid the celebration of all
 “NOCTURNAL rites and sacrifices; with design to
 “obviate the enormities which the opportunity of

^t As appears by Tully's Oration for Corn. Balbus, and by a passage in his second book, cap. 24. *Of the nature of the Gods*, quoted above; and likewise from Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 33. *Antiq.* Ἰδρίσαντο δὲ καὶ Δῆμοντες ἱερὸν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ διὰ γυναικῶν τε καὶ νεφελίας ἐθυσαν, ὡς Ἕλλησι νόμος, ὃν ἔδεν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλλαξέε χρόνος.

^u Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* cap. 93.

^w Aurel. Victor. in *Had.*

“ these seasons gave birth to, and enflamed. Bu
 “ when Prætextatus, a man adorned with every vir-
 “ tue both of public and private life, who then go-
 “ verned Greece in quality of proconsul, had given
 “ him to understand that this law would occasion
 “ great disorders in Greece, and even throw the in-
 “ habitants into despair, when they should find that
 “ they were forbidden to celebrate, according to an-
 “ cient custom, those most holy *Mysteries*, which
 “ had now taken in the whole race of mankind, he
 “ gave leave to a suspension of his law, with regard
 “ to These; on condition, however, that every
 “ thing should be reduced to the primitive purity
 “ and simplicity^x.” Thus the ELEUSINIAN MYS-
 TERIES got a reprieve, till the reign of Theodosius
 the elder, when they were finally abolished. The
 terms Prætextatus used to shew the ill consequence
 of the suppression, are very remarkable: he said,
 the Greeks would, from thenceforth, lead ABIΩTON
 BION, *a comfortless lifeless life*. But this could not
 be said, with any truth, or propriety, of the taking
 away a mere religious rite, how venerable soever it
 was become by its antiquity. To apprehend the
 force of the expression, we must have in mind what
 hath been said of the doctrines taught in those Rites,
 namely, a *Providence*, and a *future state of rewards*
and punishments, on whose sole account the Rites

^x Τῆς τοίνυν ἀρχῆς ἔγω διαίρεθείσης ὁ Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐμβριθέστερον τῇ
 ἀρχῇ προσελθὼν, ἀρχοντάς τε ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν, καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰσπραξεις
 τῶν εἰσφορῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων χορηγούμενας στρατιωτικὰς σιλήσεις, ἀκρι-
 βῆσαι· ἢν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νόμων εἰσφοράς ἐγνώκει ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ’ ἐτίας
 ὥσπερ ἀρξάμενοι, τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκώλυε θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τοῖς μυσταῶς
 μὲν ἐν πραττομένοις ἐμποδῶν διὰ τῶν ταῦδε νόμων γενέσθαι βειλόμενοι· ἐπεὶ
 δὲ Πραιεξτάτω, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν ἀνθύπαλον ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀνὴρ ἐν πά-
 σαις διαπρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τούτου ἔφη τὸν νόμον ABIΩTON τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησι καλῶς ἡσέειν τὸν BION, εἰ μέλλοιεν κωλύεσθαι τὰ συνεχόντα τὸ ἀνθρώ-
 πειον γένος ἀγιώτατα μυστήρια κατὰ θεσμόν ἐκτελεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀρξάντων
 τῶν νόμων· πράττεσθαι δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάτρια. Lib. iv.
Hist. Novæ.

were instituted. Now these doctrines being in themselves of the most engaging nature; taught here in the most interesting manner; and receiving from hence their chief credit; it was no wonder that the Greeks should esteem the abolition of the MYSTERIES as the greatest evil: the life of man being, indeed, without the comfort and support of these doctrines, no better than a *living death*: hence it was, that the sage Isocrates called the MYSTERIES, *the thing, human nature principally stands in need of*^y. And that Aristides said, *the welfare of Greece was secured by the Eleusinian Mysteries alone*^z. Indeed the Greeks seemed to place their chief happiness in them: so Euripides makes Hercules say^a, *I was blest, when I got a sight of the mysteries*: and it was a proverbial speech, when any one thought himself in the highest degree happy, to say, *I seem as if I had been initiated in the higher mysteries*^b.

I. But now, such is the fate of human things, These MYSTERIES, venerable as they were, in their first institution, did, it must be owned, in course of time, fearfully degenerate; and those very provisions made by the State, to enable the *Mysteries* to obtain the end of their establishment, became the very means of defeating it. For we can assign no surer CAUSE of the horrid abuses and corruptions of the *Mysteries* (besides time, which naturally and fatally depraves and vitiates all things) than the SEASON in which they were represented; and the profound SILENCE in which they were buried. For NIGHT gave opportunity to wicked men to attempt evil actions; and SECRECY, encouragement to perpetrate them; and the inviolable nature of that secrecy, which encouraged abuses, kept them from

^y Οὐ πρῶτον ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη. *Panegy.*

^z μόνοις Ἐλευσινίοις ὑγίαιεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. *Eleus.*

^a Ταῖς μυστῶν δ' ὄρεϊ εὐτύχης ἰδῶν. *Herc. furens*, v. 613.

^b Ἐποπτεύειν μοι δοκῶ.

the Magistrate's knowledge so long, till it was too late to reform them. In a word, we must own, that these *Mysteries*, so powerful in their first institution for the promotion of VIRTUE and KNOWLEDGE^c, became, in time, horribly subservient to the gratification of LUST and REVENGE^d. Nor will this appear at all strange after what hath been said above. A like corruption, from the same cause, crept even into the CHURCH, during the purest ages of it. The primitive christians, in *imitation*, perhaps, of these pagan rites, or from the *same kind of spirit*, had a custom of celebrating VIGILS in the night; which, at first, were performed with all becoming sanctity: but, in a little time, they were so over-run with abuses, that it was necessary to abolish them. The account Bellarmine gives of the matter, is this: “ Quoniam occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum ab-
 “ usus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potius flagitia
 “ non raro committi, placuit ecclesiæ nocturnos
 “ conventus & vigiliis proprie dictas intermittere,
 “ ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare jejunia^e.” And the same remedy, Cicero^f tells us, Diagondas the Theban was forced to apply to the disorders of the *Mysteries*.

2. However, this was not the only, though it was the most powerful cause of the depravation of the *Mysteries*. Another doubtless was their being sometimes under the patronage of those Deities, who were supposed to inspire and preside over sensual

^c —Τὰ μυστήρια—ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τῆ βίᾳ καλεσάθη πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν.

^d Ἡ γὰρ τεκνοφόνος ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ, ἢ ΚΡΥΦΙΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἢ ἑμμανεῖς ἐξ ἄλλων δεσμῶν κόμης ἀγόνιες, οὔτε βίης ἔτε γάμος καθαρὸς ἔτε φυλάσσειν, ἕτερον δ' ἕτερον ἢ ΔΟΚΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΠΕΙ, ἢ ΝΟΘΕΥΩΝ ΟΔΥΝΑ. *Wisdom of Sol.* xiv. 23, 24.

^e *De Eccl. Triumph.* lib. iii. cap. ult.

^f —Atque omnia nocturna, ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

passions, such as Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid; for these had all their *Mysteries*: And where was the wonder, if the *Initiated* should be sometimes inclined to give a loose to those vices, in which the patron God was supposed to delight? And in this case, the HIDDEN DOCTRINE came too late to put a stop to the disorder. However, it is remarkable, and confirms what hath been said concerning the origin of the *Mysteries*, and of their being invented to perpetuate the doctrine of a future state, that this doctrine continued to be taught even in the most debauched celebrations of the *Mysteries* of Cupid^s and Bacchusⁿ. Nay, even that very flagitious part of the mysterious rites when at worst, *the carrying the ΚΤΕΙΣ and ΦΑΛΛΟΣ in procession*, was introduced but under pretence of their being *emblems*ⁱ of the mystical regeneration

^s Ἀγαθὸν μὲν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τελείης μέλασχεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔγω τοῖς ΕΡΩΤΟΣ ὁρμίσταῖς καὶ μύταις ἐν αἷδι βελτίωνα μοῖραν ἔσαν. Plutarchus *Ερωτικῶν*.

ⁿ Κέλεο—οἶδά γε ἐπὶ δαίμει τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, ἐχὼ δὲ τάλιθ' περὶ κολάσεων λέγουσας ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι· διόπερ' ἐξομοῖοι ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ΒΑΚΧΙΚΑΙΣ τελεαῖς τὰ φάσματά καὶ δειμάτα περιεσώγῃσι. Orig. *contra Celsum*, lib. iv. p. 167. Sp.

ⁱ Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τελεαί, καὶ τὰ ὄρεια, τὰ τέτων εἶχεν Αἰνίσματα. τὴν κλένα μὲν ἡ Ἐλευσίς, ἡ φαλλογωγία δὲ τὸν φαλλόν. Theodoret. *Therapeut.* lib. i. Here the father uses the word αἰνίσματα ironically, and in derision of the pagans, who pretended, that these processions were mystical, symbolical, and enigmatical; otherwise he had used the word improperly; for the κλείς and φαλλός could never be the αἰνίσματα of the pollutions committed by them: αἰνίσμα signifying the obscure imitation of a thing represented by a different image.—So Tertullian against the Valentinians says, “Virile membrum totum esse MYSTERIUM.” Jamblichus gives another reason for these things: διὰ τὸτο ἐν τε κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ τραγῳδίᾳ ἀλλότρια παθὴ θεωρῶντες, ἴσταμεν τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη, καὶ μετρίωτερά ἐπερὶαζόμεθα, καὶ ἀποκαθαίρομεν ἐν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, δεάμασι τισι καὶ αἰσμάσι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, ἀπαλυνόμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀπ' αὐτῶν συμπίεσης βλάβης. *De mysteriis*, § i. cap. ii. However, in common life, *figuram pudendi virilis ad fascini omne genus expugnandum multum valere crederent*. A superstition, which, without doubt, arose from its enigmatic station in the *mysteries*; and to this day keeps its hold amongst the common people in Italy.—On les portoit

generation and new life, into which the Initiated had engaged themselves to enter.

3. The last *cause* to which one may ascribe their corruption, was the Hierophant's withdrawing the *Mysteries* from the care and inspection of the civil Magistrate; whose original Institution they were: and, therefore, in the purer ages of Greece, the deputies of the States presided in them: and, so long, they were safe from notorious abuses. But in after-times it would happen, that a little priest, who had borne an inferior share in these rites, would leave his society and country, and set up for himself; and in a clandestine manner, without the allowance or knowledge of the Magistrate, institute and celebrate the *Mysteries* in private Conventicles. From rites so managed, it is easy to believe, many enormities would arise. This was the original of those horrid impieties committed in the *Mysteries of Bacchus* at Rome; of which the historian Livy has given so circumstantial an account: for, in the beginning of his story, he tells us, the mischief was occasioned by one of these priest's bringing the *Mysteries* into Etruria, on his own head, uncommissioned by his superiors in Greece, from whom he learnt them; and unauthorized by the State, into which he had introduced them. The words of Livy shew that the *Mysteries* were, in their own nature, a very different affair; and invented for the improvement of Knowledge and Virtue. "A Greek of mean extraction (says " he^k) a little priest and soothsayer, came first into

portoit comme des préservatifs contre les charmes, les mauvais regards & les enchantemens.—Cette pratique superstitieuse ne s'en est pas moins conservée jusqu' a présent dans le bas Peuple du Royaume de Naples. L'on m'a fait voir plusieurs de ces Priapes, que des gens ont la simplicité de porter au bras ou sur la poitrine, *Winkelman sur les decouvertes D'Herculaneum*, p. 41.

^k Græcus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit, NULLA CUM ARTE EARUM, QUAS MULTAS AD ANIMORUM CORPORUMQUE CULTUM NOBIS ERUDITISSIMA OMNIUM GENS INVEXIT, sed sacrificulus & vates. *Hist.* lib. xxxix.

" Etruria,

“ Etruria, WITHOUT ANY SKILL OR WISDOM IN
 “ MYSTERIOUS RITES, MANY SORTS OF WHICH,
 “ THAT MOST IMPROVED PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT
 “ IN AMONGST US, FOR THE CULTURE AND
 “ PERFECTION BOTH OF MIND AND BODY¹. It is
 farther observable, that this priest brought the *My-*
steries pure with him out of Greece, and that they
 received their corruption in Italy; for, as Hispala
 tells the story to the Consul, at first WOMEN only
 celebrated the Rites; till Paculla Minia Campana
 became priestess; who, on a sudden, as by order
 of the Gods, made a total alteration in the Ceremo-
 nies, and initiated her SONS; which gave occasion to
 all the debaucheries that followed^m. The consequence
 of this discovery was the abolition of the *Rites of Bac-*
chus throughout Italy, by a decree of the Senateⁿ.

However,

¹ What Livy means by the *culture of the body*, will be seen hereafter, when we come to speak of the probationary and toilsome trials undergone by those *aspirants* to the *Mysteries*, called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRAS.

^m Hispala's confession will fully instruct the reader in the nature and degree of these corruptions.—“ Tum Hispala originem facrorum expromit. Primo sacrarium id sceminarum fuisse, nec quemquam virum eo admitti solitum.—Pacullam sacerdotem omnia, tanquam Deum monitis, immutasse: nam & viros eam primam suos filios initiasse; & nocturnum sacrum ex diurno, & pro tribus in anno diebus quinos singulis mensibus dies initiorum fecisse. Ex quo in promiscuo sacra sint, & permisti viri sceminis, & noctis licentia accesserit; nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii prætermisum; plura virorum inter sese, quam sceminarum esse stupra. Si qui minus patientes dedecoris sint, & pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis immolari: nihil nefas ducere. Hanc summam inter eos religionem esse; viros velut mente capta cum jactatione fanatica corporis vaticinari—Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos machinæ illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant; eos esse, qui aut conjurare, aut sociari facinoribus, aut stuprum pati noluerint Multitudinem ingentem, alterum jam prope populum esse: in his nobiles quosdam viros, sceminasque. Biennio proximo institutum esse, ne quis major viginti annis initiaretur; captari ætatis & erroris & stupri patientes.”

ⁿ After I had thus distinguished, as here, and elsewhere (in my discourse on the 6th *Æneis* and on the *Golden Ass of Apuleius*) the

However, it is very true, that in Greece itself the *Mysteries* became abominably abused^q: a proof of which we have even in the conduct of their Comic writers, who frequently lay the action of the Drama (such as the rape of a young girl, and the like) at the celebration of a religious *Mystery*; and from that *Mystery* denominate the Piece^p. So that in the time of Cicero, the terms, *mysteries* and *abominations* were almost synonymous. The *Academic* having said they had secrets and *Mysteries*, Lucullus replies, “Quæ sunt tandem ista MYSTERIA? aut “cur celatis, quasi TURPE aliquid, vestram sententiam^a?” However, in spite of all occasions and opportunities, some of these *Mysteries*, as the ELEUSINIAN particularly, continued, for many ages pure and undefiled. The two capital corruptions of the *Mysteries* were MAGIC and IMPURITIES. Yet, so late as the age of Apollonius Tyan; the *Eleusinian* kept so clear of the first imputation, that the hierophant refused to initiate that impostor, because he

PURE from the CORRUPT *Mysteries*, the reader will be surprized at the following passage of the very learned and candid Chancellor *Misheim*—“Pererudite non ita pridem, quanquam non tam semper feliciter quam ingeniose, de MYSTERIIS disputavit *Wilhelmus Warburtonus* libro celeberrimo: *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*. Censet vir eruditissimus, ad humanarum mentium immortalitatem docendam omnia instituta fuisse MYSTERIA. Dederim, in nonnullis religionis illius, quam recta ratio tradit, præcepta inculcata, & publicarum religionum vanitatem patefactam fuisse: omnium vero hanc rationem fuisse, nunquam sibi persuadebit, qui vel BACCHI MYSTERIA cogitaverit, quæ teste *Livio Romani* ferre nolebant. *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum M. Commentarii*. Cap. i. Sect. 13. not. (***)”. But as to the pure and uncorrupt *Mysteries* of Bacchus, authorized by the magistrate, the learned Writer might have seen p. 139, note (r), that *Celsus* expressly affirms, even these taught a future state; which truth his adversary *Origin* confesses.

^q See *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his *Admonitio ad Gentes*.

^p See *Fabricius's Notitia comicorum deperditorum*, in his first vol. of the *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

^a *Acad. quæst.* lib. i.

was suspected to be a Magician'. And, indeed, their long-continued immunity, both from one and the other corruption, will not appear extraordinary, if we consider, that, by a law of Solon, the senate was always to meet the day after the celebration of these Mysteries, to see that nothing had been done amiss during the performance^s. So that these were the very last that submitted to the common fate of all human institutions^t.

It

^r 'Ο δὲ Ἱεροφάνης ἐκ ἐβάλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερὰ, μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποιεῖ μύσαι γόητα, μὴ δὲ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα ἀνοίξει ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. *Philost. lib. iv. cap. 18.*

^s ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ ἐκεῖ καθεδεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κελεύει, τῇ ὑπεραίῳ, τῶν μυστηρίων ἔδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. *An-doc. Orat.*

^t This short historical deduction of the rise and fall of the *Mysteries* will afford much light to the following passage of St. Paul, speaking of the *leaders* and *instructors* of the gentile world, —“So that they are without excuse: because that *when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools: and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like a corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves. Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the creator, who is blessed for ever, amen. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections,*” *Ec. Rom. i. 20, & seq.* In these words, the holy apostle evidently condemns the foolish policy of the gentile sages, who, *when they knew God* (that is, discovered God, as Paul intimates, by the light of nature) yet *glorified him not as God*, by preaching him up to the people; but, carried away, in the *vanity of their imagination*, by a mistaken principle of politics, that a vulgar knowledge of him would be injurious to society, shut up his glory in their MYSTERIES, and gave the people, in exchange for an *uncorruptible God, an image made like to corruptible man and birds, &c.* Wherefore God, in punishment for their thus turning his truth into a lie, suffered even their *Mysteries*, which they erected (though on these wrong principles) for a school of virtue, to degenerate into an odious sink of vice and immorality; *giving them up unto all uncleanness and vile affections.* That this was the apostle’s meaning,

It is true, if uncertain report were to be believed, the *Mysteries* were corrupted very early: for Orpheus himself is said to have abused them^u. But this was a figment which the debauched *Mystæ* of later times invented to varnish over their enormities; as the detestable Pæderasts of after-ages scandalized the blameless Socrates. Besides, the story is so ill laid, that it is detected by the surest records of Antiquity: for, in consequence of the crime which they fabled Orpheus committed in the *Mysteries*, they pretended, that he was torn in pieces by the women: whereas it appeared from the inscription on his monument at Dium in Macedonia, that he was struck dead with lightening, the envied death of the reputed favourites of the Gods^x.

And here the christian FATHERS will hardly escape the censure of those who will not allow high provocation to be an excuse for an unfair representation of an adversary. I say, they will hardly escape censure, for accustoming themselves to speak of the *Mysteries* as gross impieties and immoralities in their very original^y. Clemens Alexandrinus, in a heat of zeal, breaks

ing, appears not only from the general tenor of the passage, but from several particular expressions; as where he speaks of *changing the glory of God to birds, beasts, and creeping things*: for this was the peculiar superstition of Egypt: and Egypt we have shewn to be the first inventress of the *Mysteries*. Again, he says, *they worshiped and served the creature more than the creator, ωγα τὸ κτισμὰ*. This was strictly true with regard to the MYSTERIES: the CREATOR was there acknowledged by a small and select number of the Participants; but the general and solemn worship even in these celebrations was to their national idols. In the OPEN worship of paganism, either *public* or *particular*, it was not at all true, for there the CREATURE was the sole object of adoration.

^u See Diog. Laert. *Proæmium*, Segm. 5.

^x Idem, *ibid*.

^y What hath been said above, shews that M. Le Clerc hath gone into the other extreme of party prejudice, when he contends (*Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 73.) that the *Mysteries* were not corrupted at all. I can conceive no reason for so violent a paradox, but as it favoured an accusation against the *Fathers*, who have
much

breaks out, “Let him be accursed, who first infected
 “the world with these impostures, whether it was
 “Dardanus—or—&c. These I make no scruple to
 “call wicked authors of impious fables; the fathers
 “of an execrable superstition, who, by this Institu-
 “tion, sowed in human life the seeds of vice and
 “corruption^z.” But the wisest and best of the pa-
 gan world invariably hold, that the *Mysteries* were
 instituted pure; and proposed the noblest end, by
 the worthiest means. And even though the express
 testimony of these writers, supported by the reason of
 the thing, should be deemed insufficient, yet the cha-
 racter and quality of their Institutor must put the
 matter out of all doubt. This Institutor, as will be
 seen presently, was no other than the Lawgiver, or
 CIVIL MAGISTRATE himself. Wherever the *Myste-
 ries* found public admittance, it was by his introduc-
 tion; and as oft as ever they were celebrated, it was
 under his inspection. Now virtue is as essential to
 the preservation, and vice to the destruction of that
 Society, over which he presides, as obedience and
 disobedience are to his office and authority. So that
 to conceive him disposed to bring in, and to encour-
 age, immoral practices under the mask of Religion,
 is the same thing as to suspect the Physician of mix-
 ing Poisons with his antidotes.

much insisted on the corruption of them—“Les peres ont dit
 “qu’on commettoit toute sorte d’ordures dans ces céremonies:
 “mais quoi qu’ils disent, il n’est pas croiable que toute la Grece,
 “quelque corrompue qu’elle ait été, ait jamais consenti que les
 “filles & les femmes se prostituassent dans les mysteres—Mais
 “quelques auteurs chrétiens n’ont fait aucune difficulté de dire
 “mille choses peu conformes à la verité, pour diffamer le paga-
 “nisme: de peur qu’il n’y eût que les payens à qui on pût repro-
 “cher leurs calomnies. *Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 120.

^z “Ολλοίλο εἴ οὐ τῆσδε ἀρχῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις· εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος—εἴτε
 —τέττις ἐγὼ γὰρ αὖ ἀρχικακὴς φήσαιμι μῦθον ἀθέων, καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ὀλε-
 θρίας παλέραις, σπέρμα κακίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγκαταφυλεύσαντας τῇ βίῳ τα-
 μυστήρια. *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

The truth of the matter was this: the *Fathers* bore a secret grudge to the *Mysteries* for their injurious treatment of Christianity on its first appearance in the world. We are to observe, that ATHEISM, by which was meant a contempt of the Gods, was reckoned, in the *Mysteries*, amongst the greatest crimes. So, in the sixth book of the *Æneis* (of which more hereafter) the hottest seats in Tartarus are allotted to the Atheist, such as Salmoneus, Tityus, and the Titans, &c. Now the Christians, for their contempt of the national Gods, were, on their first appearance, deemed Atheists by the people; and so branded by the Mystagogue, as we find in Lucian^a, and exposed amongst the rest in Tartarus, in their solemn shews and representations. This may be gathered from a remarkable passage in Origen, where Celsus thus addresses his adversary: “But now, as
 “you, good man, believe eternal punishments, even
 “so do the interpreters of these holy *Mysteries*, the
 “Hierophants and Initiators: you threaten others
 “with these punishments: THESE, on the contrary,
 “THREATEN YOU^b.” This explains a passage in Jerom’s catalogue of ecclesiastical writers; and will be explained by it. The Father, speaking of Quadratus, says; “Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hiemem invisens Eleusinem, & omnibus pene
 “Græciæ sacris initiatus, dedisset occasionem iis, qui
 “Christianos oderunt, absque præcepto Imperatoris
 “vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religione
 “nostra.” Now what *occasion* was afforded at this juncture to the enemies of Christianity, but only this, That, the Grecian *Mysteries* representing the Faithful in an odious light, the Emperor (who but just

^a Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ [τῆς τελείης ἡμέρᾳ] προῤῥήσεις ἦν, ὥσπερ Ἀθηναῖσι, τοιαύτῃ· εἴ τις ἄθεος, ἢ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ἢ Ἐπικέρειος, ἢ κει κατὰ σκοπὸν τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω—*Pseudomantis*.

^b Μάλιστα μὲν, ὃ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολάσεις αἰώνιες νομίζεις· ἔγω κὲ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐξηγήται τελεταὶ τε κὲ μυσαῖργοι· ὥς σὺ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπειλεῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ σοί. lib. viii.

then had been initiated into almost all of them) might be reasonably thought estranged and indisposed towards Christianity; and so the easier drawn to countenance, or connive at, any injustice done unto it?

This, without doubt, was what sharpened the Fathers against the *Mysteries*; and they were not over tender in loading what they did not approve. On this account they gave easy credit to what had been told to them of the abominations in the *Mysteries*; and the rather, perhaps, on account of the *secrecy* with which they were celebrated. The same *Secrecy* in the Christian Rites, and the same language introduced by the Fathers in speaking of them, as we see below, procured as easy credit to those calumnies of murder and incest charged upon them by the Pagans. Nay, what is still more remarkable, those specific enormities, in which their own *Mysteries* were known to offend, they objected to the Christians. “Alii
“ eos [Christianos] ferunt ipsius Antistitis ac Sacer-
“ dotis colere genitalia.” But here comes in the strange part of the story; that, after this, they should so studiously and formally transfer the terms, phrases, rites, ceremonies, and discipline of these *odious Mysteries* into our holy Religion; and, thereby, very early vitiate and deprave, what a pagan writer^d could see, and acknowledge, to be ABSOLUTA & SIMPLEX, as it came out of the hands of its Author. Sure then it was some more than ordinary veneration the People had for these *Mysteries*, that could incline the Fathers of the Church to so fatal a counsel: however, the thing is notorious^e, and the effects have been severely felt.

We

^e *Cæcil. apud Minut. in Octav.*

^d Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxi. cap. 16. *Hist.*

^e The reader will not be displeased to find here an exact account of this whole matter, extracted from a very curious dissertation of Is. Casaubon, a great and unexceptionable writer, in his xviith *Exer. on the Annals of Baronius*.—“Pii patres quum intelligerent,

We have all along supposed the *Mysteries* an invention of the Lawgiver: and, indeed, we had nothing to do with them, but in that view. Now though,

“ telligerent, quo facilius ad veritatis amorem corruptas supersti-
 “ tione mentes traducerent; & verba sacrorum illorum quam plu-
 “ rima, in suos usus transtulerunt; & cum doctrinae veræ capita
 “ aliquot sic tractarunt, tum ritus etiam nonnullos ejusmodi insti-
 “ tuerunt; ut videantur cum Paulo dicere gentibus voluisse, &
 “ ἀγνοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, ταῦτα καὶ ἀγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν. Hinc igitur est,
 “ quod sacramenta patres appellarunt *mysteria*, μύσεις, τελεῖαι,
 “ τελεώσεις, ἐποπτείας, five ἐποφείας, τελεσθήρια; interdum etiam
 “ ὄρση, sed rarius: peculiariter vero eucharistiam τελεῶν τελεήν.
 “ Dicitur etiam antonomacite τὸ μυσήριον, aut numero multitudi-
 “ nis τὰ μυσήρια. Apud patres passim de sacra communione leges
 “ φρικτὰ μυστήρια vel τὸ εὐπρόσχηλον μυστήριον; Gregorio Magno, *mag-*
 “ *num* & *paucendum mysterium*. Μυεῖσθαι in veterum monumentis
 “ sæpe leges pro cœnæ dominicæ fieri particeps; μύησιν pro ipsa
 “ actione; μύτης est sacerdos, qui etiam dicitur ὁ μυσταγωγὼν & ὁ
 “ ἱεροτελεστής. In liturgiis Græcis & alibi etiam ἡ ἱερὰ τελεή, & ἡ
 “ κρυφία καὶ ἐπίφοβος τελεή, est eucharistia. Quemadmodum autem
 “ gradus quidem in mysteriis paganis servati sunt, sic Dionysius
 “ universam τῶν τελεῶν τὴν ἱερουργίαν, traditionem sacramentorum
 “ distinguit in tres actiones, quæ & ritibus & temporibus erant
 “ divisæ: prima est κάθαρσις, *purgatio*; altera μύησις, *initiatio*;
 “ tertia, τελεώσις, *consummatio*; quam & ἐποφείαν sæpe nominat.
 “ Spem meliorem morientibus attulisse *mysteria Attica* dicebat
 “ paulo ante M. Tullius. Patres contra, certam salutem & vi-
 “ tam æternam Christi *mysteria* digne percipientibus asserere, con-
 “ firmabant: qui illa contemnerent, servari non posse: finem
 “ vero & fructum ultimum sacramentorum δέωσιν, *deificationem*,
 “ dicere non dubitarunt; quum scirent vanarum superstitionum
 “ auctores, suis *epoptis* eum honorem audere spondere. Passim
 “ igitur legas apud Patres, τῆς ἱερᾶς μυσταγωγίας τέλος εἶναι δέωσιν,
 “ finem sacramentorum esse, ut qui vera fide illa perciperent, in
 “ futura vita dii evadant. Athanasius verbo θεοποιηεῖσθαι in eam
 “ rem est usus; quod mox ab eodem explicatur, *participatione spi-*
 “ *ritus conjungimur deitati*. De symbolis sacramentorum, per
 “ quæ divinæ illæ ceremoniæ celebrantur, nihil attinet hoc loco
 “ dicere; illud vero, quod est & appellatur fidei symbolum, di-
 “ versi est generis, & fidelibus tesserae usum præstat, per quam se
 “ mutuo agnoscunt, qui pietati sacramento dixerunt; cujusmodi
 “ tesseras fuisse etiam in paganorum mysteriis ostendimus. For-
 “ mulæ illi in mysteriis peragendis usurpatæ, *Procul este, profani*,
 “ respondet in liturgia hæc per diaconos pronuntiari solita; ὅσοι
 “ καὶ ἡχόμενοι προσέλθετε; vel, ἔξω ἀπεκλείετε ὅσοι ἐνεργέμενοι, ὅσοι
 “ ἀμύητοι; *omnes catechumeni, foras discedite, omnes possēsi, omnes non*
 “ *initiati.*

though, from what hath been said, the intelligent reader will collect, we have not supposed amiss, yet since the pertinency of the whole discourse, as here applied, depends upon it, he may perhaps expect us to be a little more particular.

“ *inati.* Noctu ritus multi in mysteriis peragebantur; noctu etiam initiatio Christianorum inchoabatur; Gaudentio nominatur *splendidissima nox vigiliarum.* Quod autem dicebamus de silentio in sacris opertaneis servari a paginis solito, id institutum veteres christiani sic probarunt, ut religiosa ejus observatione mysteria omnes longe superarint. Quemadmodum igitur dicit Seneca, sanctiora sacrorum solis initiatis fuisse nota, & Jamblichus de Philosophia Pythagoreorum in τὰ ἀπόρρητα, quæ efferri non poterant, & τὰ ἐκφορα, quæ foras efferre jus erat; ita universam doctrinam christianam veteres distinguebant in τὰ ἐκφορα, id est, ea quæ enuntiari apud omnes poterant, & τὰ ἀπόρρητα arcana temere non vulganda; τὰ δογματά, inquit Basilus, σιωπᾷται τὰ δὲ κηρύσματα δημωσιεύεται, dogmata silentio premuntur; præconia publicantur. Chrysostomus, de iis qui baptizantur pro mortuis; *Cupio quidem perspicue rem dicere; sed propter non initiatos non audeo: hi interpretationem reddunt nobis difficiliorem; dum nos cogunt, aut perspicue non dicere, aut arcana, quæ taceri debent, apud ipsos efferre.* Atque ut ἐξορχεῖσθαι τὰ μυστήρια dixerunt pagani, de iis qui arcana mysteriorum evulgabant; ita dixit Dionysius, *Vide ne enunties, aut parum reverenter habeas sancta sanctorum.* Passim apud Augustinum leges, *Sacramentum quod norunt fideles.* In Johannem tract. xi. autem sic; *Omnes catechumeni jam credunt in nomine Christi, sed Jesus non se credit eis. Mox Interrogemus catechumenum, Manducas carnem filii hominis? nescit quid dicimus. Iterum, Nesciunt catechumeni quid accipiant christiani: erubescant ergo quia nesciunt.*”

But the worst part of the story is still behind, which the concluding words of the quotation will not suffer me to pass over in silence. These Fathers used so strange a language, in speaking of the *last Supper*, that it gave occasion to a corrupt and barbarous Church, in after times, to ingraft upon it a doctrine more stupendiously absurd and blasphemous than ever issued from the mouth of a Pagan Priest. What is further to be lamented in the affair is this, that the Fathers, who so complaisantly suffered themselves to be misled by these *Mysteries*, in their representation of the Christian Faith, would not suffer the *Mysteries* to set them right in the meaning of a term frequently found in the New Testament, and borrowed from those Rites, namely the very word itself, MYSTERY: which, amongst the men from whom it was taken, did not signify the revealing of a thing incomprehensible to human reason; but the revealing of a thing kept hid, and secreted, which yet, in its nature was very plain and intelligible.

That the *Mysteries* were invented, established, and supported by LAWGIVERS, may be seen,

i. From the place of their original; which was EGYPT. This, Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, who collect from ancient testimonies, expressly affirm; and in this all Antiquity concurs: the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, particularly, retaining the very *Egyptian* Gods, in whose honour they were celebrated; Ceres and Triptolemus being only two other names for Isis^f and Osiris; as we have seen above from Theodoret: and so Tibullus,—

Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit OSIRIS,

Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum^g.

Hence it is, that the UNIVERSAL NATURE, or the *first Cause*, the object of all the *Mysteries*, yet dis-

^f "Ισις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 59. And again, cap. 156. Δημήτηρ δὲ "Ισις.

^g Mr. Le Clerc owns, that Plutarch, Diodorus, and Theodoret have all said this; yet, the better to support his scheme in the interpretation of the history of Ceres, he has thought fit to contradict them; but his reason is very singular.—“C’étoit la coutume des payens de dire que des divinitez étoient les mêmes, “lors qu’ils avoient remarqué quelque legere ressemblance entre “elles, dans la fausse pensée où ils étoient que le plus grands de leurs “dieux s’étoient fait connoître dans toute la terre: au lieu qu’il n’y “en avoit aucun qui ne fut TOPIQUE, c’est à dire particulier à “un lieu—On en trouvera divers exemples dans le petit traité “*De la deesse de Syrie.*” Bib. univ. tom. vi. p. 121. It is very true, that the Gods of the Pagans were local deities; but to think the Ancients could be ignorant of this, when it is from the nature and genius of Paganism, as delivered by them, that we come to know it, is a very extraordinary conceit. Indeed the Moderns, possessed with their own ideas, were and are generally unattentive to this truth; and so have committed many errors in their reasonings on the subject. But that principle of the *intercommunity of worship* in ancient paganism (explained in another place) would have the same effect in spreading the worship, as if their Gods were universal and not local; which shews the Ancients not mistaken in the point in question. Yet Mr. Le Clerc, in another place, could see that Astartè was certainly Isis, as Adonis was Osiris; and this, merely from the similitude, or rather, identity of their ceremonies.

guised under diverse NAMES, speaking of herself in Apuleius, concludes the enumeration of her various mystic rites, in these words,—“ Priscaque doctrina
 “ pollentes ÆGYPTII, CEREMONIIS me prorsus PRO-
 “ PRIIS ^h percolentes, appellant VERO NOMINE regi-
 “ nam ISIDEM ⁱ.”

But

^h There is a remarkable passage in Syncellus relating to this subject, which hath been little understood. This Writer speaking, from Africanus, of the very early Egyptian King, Suphis, says, ἄτος δὲ καὶ ΠΕΡΙΟΠΤΗΣ εἰς Θεὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγραψε βίβλον. *This King was a Contemplator of the Gods and wrote a sacred Book.* The Reader may see by what Sir J. Marsham hath said on this passage [Can. Chron. p. 53.] how much it wants explaining. What increases the difficulty is the contrary account which Eusebius, in Syncellus, gives of this matter. He says that *this King was a Contemner of the Gods, and that on his repentance he wrote a sacred book*; ὃς καὶ ΥΠΕΡΟΠΤΗΣ εἰς Θεὸς γεγόνεν, ὡς μελανοήσαντα αὐτὸν τὴν ἱερὰν συγγράψαι βίβλον. These obscure and inconsistent tracts of History can be only explained and reconciled by what is here delivered concerning the *Mysteries* (originally Egyptian) which had for their grand *secrets* or ἈΠΟΨΗΤΑ the detection of Polytheism, and the doctrine of the first Cause. I regard therefore this passage of Africanus, as a remarkable piece of history, which conveys to us the memory of the first Institutor of the ἈΠΟΨΗΤΑ of the *Mysteries*. The term περίοπτης peculiar to these Rites, and the ἱερὰ βίβλος, the name of that book which was read to the Initiated, very much support this interpretation. To which let me add this further circumstance,—Suphis, according to Marsham, died about forty years after Abraham. The Patriarch without question instructed the idolatrous Egyptians in the knowledge of the true God. Suphis therefore might take advantage of that knowledge, (which he found amongst the priests, with whom Abraham, as Damascenus in Eusebius informs us, had many disputes and conferences about Religion) and apply it to this purpose: And then Eusebius's account that Suphis was a *contemner of the Gods* will be so far from giving us any trouble to reconcile it to Africanus's, who calls this same Suphis a *Contemplator* of them, that they jointly tend to elucidate the general subject. For if Suphis instituted ἀπόψητα in his *Mysteries*, which exposed and disgraced Polytheism, he certainly would be esteemed, by all those who had heard it, as an ATHEIST or *Contemner of the Gods*; the character given to all who opposed Polytheism both in the earlier and later times of Paganism. Now Eusebius finding this charged upon Suphis, by the same authority which says he *wrote a sacred Book*, not apprehending to what the thing referred,

and

But the similitude between the Rites practised, and the Doctrines taught in the Grecian and Egyptian

and therefore not conceiving how a *profane* man should be disposed to write a *sacred Book* or a Ritual of Worship, he tried to reconcile matters, by supposing that the Monarch repented of his *impiety* before he wrote his *book*. Lastly, to confirm all that hath been here said, we may observe, that the mode of speech here used concerning Suphis, is the very same which the Egyptian Chroniclers employ when they speak more plainly of the INITIATIONS of their succeeding Kings. Josephus from Manetho, speaking of Amenophis, hath a remarkable passage to this purpose. Φησὶ τῷτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι Θεῶν γενέσθαι ΘΕΑΤΗΝ, ὥσπερ Ουρος εἰς τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν βασιλευκῶτων· ἀνεβίβκειν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμῶν υἱῶν μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει, πατρὸς δὲ Πάπιοις ὄντι, θείως δὲ δοκῆναι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως, καὶ αὐτὰ τε σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων· εἰπεὶν ἔν αὐτῷ τῷτον τὸν ὁμῶννημων, ὅτι δυναστεῖαι Θεὸς ἸΔΕΙΝ, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μικρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν ποιήσεται. [Cont. Apion. l. i. c. 26.] “He says, that Amenophis desired to be made
“ a Contemplator of the Gods, as was Orus one of his Predecessors in the Kingdom: and that he communicated this desire to
“ his namesake Amenophis, the son of Papis, who, by his wisdom and prescience of futurity, was understood to have participated of the Divine Nature. His namesake hereupon told him
“ that he might have the Privilege of seeing the Gods, if he would
“ purge the whole country from leprous and unclean persons.” We see plainly that what was here desired by Amenophis, of his namesake, was an INITIATION. This son of Papis appears to have been the HIEROPHANT of the Mysteries, and under that character celebrated for his skill in divining. The request is enforced by the favour granted to his Predecessor, Orus, as Æneas’s request to the Sibyl, that he might visit the infernal Regions, by the example of Orpheus, Hercules, &c.

“ Si potuit Manis arcessere conjugis Orpheus, &c.
The proposed adventures are related in the high terms of seeing the Gods and visiting the infernal Regions, agreeably to what has been, and will presently be further explained concerning this sublime phraseology, arising partly from the high veneration paid to initiation into the Mysteries, and partly from the amazement occasioned by the Shows and the Machinery exhibited in the celebration of them. The Aspirant is required by his namesake the Hierophant, to purify the land from the unclean, in conformity to those previous ceremonies of lustration which we have shewn were to be performed before admission to the Mysteries. And now we see of how little avail, to the service of infidelity, that Parallel is, which Sir J. Marsham has drawn between all these passages from Africanus and Manetho, and Moses’s Visions of God at the Bush and in the Mount.

ⁱ Metam. lib. xi.

Mysteries, would be alone sufficient to point up to their original: such as the *secrecy* required of the Initiated; which, as we shall see hereafter, peculiarly characterized the Egyptian teaching; such as the doctrines taught of a *metempsychosis*, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which the Greek writers agree to have been first set abroad by the Egyptians^k; such as *abstinence* enjoined from domestic fowl, fish, and beans^l, the peculiar superstition of the Egyptians; such as the Ritual composed in *hieroglyphics*, an invention of the Egyptians^m. But it would be endless to reckon up all the particulars in which the Egyptian and Grecian Mysteries agreed: it shall suffice to say, that they were in all things the sameⁿ.

Again; nothing but the supposition of this common original to all the Grecian *Mysteries* can clear up and reconcile the disputes which arose amongst the Grecian States and Cities, concerning the original of these Rites; every one claiming to be the Prototype to the rest. Thus Thrace pretended that they came first from thence; Crete contested the honour with those barbarians; and Athens claimed it from both. And at that time, when they had forgotten the true original, it was impossible to settle and adjust their

^k Timæus the Locrian, in his book *Of the soul of the world*, speaking of the necessity of inculcating the doctrine of future punishments, calls them ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ, FOREIGN TORMENTS; by which name both Latin and Greek writers generally mean, *Egyptian*, where the subject is Religion.

^l See Porphyrius *De Abst.*

^m Senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores ædis amplissimæ, rituque solenni aspersione celebrato mysterio, ac matutino peracto sacrificio, de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, literis ignorabilibus prænotatos; partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, CONCEPTI SERMONIS COMPENDIOSA VERBA SUGGERENTES, partim nodosis, & in modum rotæ tortuosis, capreolatinque condensis apicibus. Apul. *Metam.* lib. xi.

ⁿ Πρὸς δὲ ταύτοις αἱ τελεταὶ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ταύτης τῆς θεᾶς [Λήμνης] τότε καλεδείχθησαν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, τὰ τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιότητας ὡσαύτως ἔχον Ἀθηναίαις καὶ τὰς Αἰγυπτίαις. Diod. Sic. lib. i.

differences;

differences: for each could prove that he did not borrow from others; and, at the same time, seeing a similitude in the Rites^o, would conclude that they had borrowed from him. But the owning EGYPT for their common Parent, clears up all difficulties: by accounting for that general likeness which gave birth to every one's pretensions.

Now, in Egypt, all religious Worship being planned and established by Statesmen, and directed to the ends of civil policy, we must conclude, that the *Mysteries* were originally invented by LEGISLATORS.

2. The Sages who brought them out of Egypt, and propagated them in Asia, in Greece, and Britain, were all Kings or Lawgivers; such as Zoroaster, Inachus, Orpheus^p, Melampus, Trophonius, Minos, Cinyras, Erectheus, and the Druids.

3. They were under the superintendence of the State. A Magistrate, intitled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, or King, presided in the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Lysias informs us, that this King was to offer up the public prayers, according to their country Rites; and to see that nothing impious or immoral crept into the celebration^q. This title given to the President of the *Mysteries*, was, doubtless, in memory of the first Founder: to whom were joined four officers, chosen by the people, called ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΑΙ or Curators^r; the priests were only under-officers to these, and had no share in the direction: for this being the Legislator's

^o — Καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τρόπον τινὰ κοινοποιεῖσθαι ταῦτά τε, καὶ τῶν Σαμοθράκων, καὶ τὰ ἐν Λημνῷ, καὶ ἄλλα πλείω· διὰ τὸ τὰς προσπόλεις λέγεσθαι τὰς αὐτὰς. Strabo, lib. x.

^p Of whom Aristophanes says, Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελεῖας δ' ἡμῶν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι “Orpheus taught us the *Mysteries*, “and to abstain from murder,” i. e. from a life of rapine and violence, such as men lived in the *state of nature*.

^q — Καὶ εὐχὰς εὐξέται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια—ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς ἀδικῇ, μηδὲ ἀσεβῇ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ—in Andoc.

^r See Meursius's *Eleusinia*, cap. xv.

favourite institution, he took all possible care for its support; which could not be done more effectually, than by his watching over it himself. On the other hand, his interfering too openly in religious matters would have defeated his end; and the people would soon have come to regard this high solemnity as a mere engine of State; on which account he carefully kept behind the curtain. For though it be now apparent that the *Mysteries* were the invention of the Civil Magistrate, yet even some Ancients, who have mentioned the *Mysteries*, seemed not to be apprized of it; and their ignorance hath occasioned great embroilment in all they say on this subject. The reader may see by the second chapter of Meursius's *Eleusinia*, how much the Ancients were at a loss for the true founder of those *Mysteries*; some giving the institution to Ceres; some to Triptolemus; others to Eumolpus; others to Musæus; and some again to Erectheus. How then shall we disengage ourselves from this labyrinth, into which Meursius hath led us, and in which, his guard of Ancients keep us inclosed? This clue will easily conduct us through it. It appears, from what has been said, that Erectheus, KING of Athens, established the *Mysteries*^s; but that the people unluckily confounded the Institutor, with the PRIESTS, Eumolpus and Musæus, who first officiated in the rites; and, with Ceres and Triptolemus, the DEITIES, in whose honour they were celebrated. And these mistakes were natural enough^t: the poets would be apt, in the licence of their figurative style, to call the Gods, in whose name the *Mysteries* were performed, the Founders of

^s And so says Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. *Bibl.*

^t They were committed where no Mystery was affected, in what concerned the open worship of their Gods. Tacitus, speaking of the Temple of the Paphian Venus, says, "Conditorem Templi Regem Aërian vetus memoria, quidam ipsius Deæ nomine id perhibent." *Hist.* lib. ii.

those *Mysteries*; and the people, seeing only the ministry of the officiating priests (the Legislator keeping out of sight) in good earnest believed those *Mystagogues* to be the founders. And yet, if it were reasonable to expect from Poets or People, attention to their own fancies and opinions, one would think they might have distinguished better, by the help of that mark, which Erectheus left behind him, to ascertain his title; namely, the erection of the officer called βασιλεὺς, or *King*.

4. But this original is still further seen from the qualities required in the aspirants to the *Mysteries*. According to their original institution, neither *slaves* nor *foreigners* were to be admitted into them". Now if the *Mysteries* were instituted, primarily for the sake of teaching religious truths, there can be no reason given why every man, with the proper moral qualifications, should not be admitted: but supposing them instituted by the State for civil purposes, a very good one may be assigned; for *slaves* and *foreigners* have there, neither property nor country. When afterwards the Greeks, by frequent confederations against the Persian, the common enemy of their liberties, began to consider themselves as one people and Community, the *Mysteries* were extended to all who spoke the GREEK LANGUAGE. Yet the Ancients, not reflecting on the original and end of their institution, were much perplexed for the reasons of an exclusion so apparently capricious. Lucian tells us, in *The life of his friend Demonax*, that this great philosopher had the courage, one day, to ask

" — ἦλθε [Ἡρακλῆς] πρὸς Εὐμόλπον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, βερόμενος μνηστῆναι· ἦν δὲ ἐκ ἐξόν ΖΕΝΟΙΣ τότε μνηστῆναι.—Schol. Hom. Il. 6. It was the same in the Cabiric Mysteries, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. who speaks of the like innovation made there.—δοκεῖ δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ΖΕΝΟΥΣ μνηστῆναι. As to slaves, hear Aristophanes in his Θεσμοφόριαζ.

— συ δ' ἀπὸ ᾧ Θεῶν ἐκποδὼν
ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ γὰρ ἐκ ἐξέσ' ἀκέρει τῶν λόγων.

the Athenians, why they excluded barbarians from their *Mysteries*, when Eumolpus, a barbarous Thracian, had established them^w. But he does not tell us their answer. One of the most judicious of our modern critics was as much at a loss; and therefore thinks the restraint ridiculous, as implying, that the Institutors supposed that speaking the Greek tongue contributed to the advancement of piety^x.

5. Another proof of this original may be deduced from what was taught promiscuously to all the Initiated; which was, *the necessity of a virtuous and holy life, to obtain a happy immortality*. Now this, we know, could not come from the sacerdotal warehouse: the priests could afford a better penny-worth of their Elysium, at the easy expence of oblations and sacrifices: for, as our great Philosopher well observes (who, however, was not aware of this extraordinary institution for the support of virtue, and therefore concludes too generally) “The Priests
“made it not their business to teach the people
“virtue: if they were diligent in their observations
“and ceremonies, punctual in their feasts and solemnities, and the tricks of religion, the holy tribe assured them that the Gods were pleased, and they
“looked no further: few went to the schools of
“Philosophers, to be instructed in their duty, and
“to know what was good and evil in their actions:

^w Ἐτόλμησε δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ Ἀθηναῖος ἐρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς ἀπαρρησίμου ἀκέρειας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀποκλείουσι τὰς βαρβάρους καὶ ταῦτα τῇ τῆν τελευτῇ αὐτοῖς καλῶσαν Εὐμόλπῃ, βαρβάρῃ καὶ ὁμογενεῖ. But the fact, that they were not a grecian but a foreign, that is, barbarous invention, is proved by their very name, *μυστήρια*, from the eastern dialect, *mistor* or *mistur*, res aut locus abconditus.

^x Auctor est Libanius in Corinthiorum actione, *myllagogos* summa diligentia initiandos ante omnia monuisse, ut manus puras animumque sibi servarent purum: καὶ τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλλήνας εἶναι; Et ut in voce sive sermone Græcos se præstarent: hoc quidem profecto ridiculum, quasi faceret ad veram pietatem, Græca potius quam alia lingua loqui. If. Casauboni *Exercit.* xvi. ad *Annales Eccl. Baron.*

“ the

“ the Priests sold the better penny-worths, and there-
 “ fore had all the custom: for lustrations and sacri-
 “ fices were much easier than a clean conscience and
 “ a steady course of virtue; and an expiatory sacri-
 “ fice, that atoned for the want of it, much more
 “ convenient than a strict and holy life.” Now
 we may be assured, that an Institution, which taught
 the necessity of a strict and holy life, could not but
 be the invention of Lawgivers, to whose schemes
 moral virtue was so necessary.

6. Another strong presumption of this original is
 the great use of the *Mysteries* to the State: so amply
 confessed by the wisest writers of antiquity, and so
 clearly seen from the nature of the thing itself.

7. But, lastly, we have the testimony of the know-
 ing Plutarch for this original; who, in his treatise
Of Isis and Osiris, expressly tells us, that it was “ a
 “ most ancient opinion, delivered down, from LE-
 “ GISLATORS and Divines, to Poets and Philoso-
 “ phers, the author of it entirely unknown, but the
 “ belief of it indelibly established, not only in tradi-
 “ tion, and the talk of the vulgar, but in the MYST-
 “ TERIES and in the sacred offices of religion, both
 “ amongst Greeks and Barbarians, spread all over
 “ the face of the globe, That the Universe was not
 “ upheld fortuitously, without Mind, Reason, or a
 “ Governor to preside over its revolutions.”

It is now submitted to the candid reader, Whe-
 ther it be not fairly proved, that the MYSTERIES
were invented by the LEGISLATOR, to affirm and estab-
lish the general doctrine of a Providence, by inculcat-
ing the belief of a future state of rewards and punish-

^y Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

^z Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαια αὕτη κάτεισιν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ
 εἰς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πῶς
 ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, ἐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον, ἔδδ' ἐν φήμασι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε
 ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ, ἐν τε θυσίαις, καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ Ἑλλήσι πολλαχῶς περιφερο-
 μένην, ὥς ἔτ' ἄνων καὶ ἀλοφον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὰ
 πάντα.

ments. Indeed, if we may believe a certain Ancient, who appears to have been well versed in these matters, they gained their end, by clearing up all doubts concerning the righteous government of the Gods^a.

We have seen in general, how fond and tenacious ancient Paganism was of this extraordinary Rite, as of an Institution supremely useful both to SOCIETY and RELIGION. But this will be seen more fully in what I now proceed to lay before the Public; an examination of two celebrated pieces of Antiquity, the famous SIXTH BOOK OF VIRGIL'S *ÆNEIS*, and the *METAMORPHOSIS OF APULEIUS*: The first of which will shew us of what use the *Mysteries* were esteemed to SOCIETY; and the second, of what support to RELIGION.

An inquiry into *Æneas's* adventure to the Shades, will have this farther advantage, the instructing us in the *shews and representations of the MYSTERIES*; a part of their history, which the form of this discourse hath not yet afforded us an opportunity of giving. So that nothing will be now wanting to a perfect knowledge of this most extraordinary and important Institution.

For, the descent of Virgil's Hero into the infernal regions, I presume, was no other than a figurative description of an INITIATION; and particularly, a very exact picture of the SPECTACLES in the ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES; where every thing was done in shew and machinery; and where a representation^b of the history of Ceres afforded opportunity

^a Ὁ δὲ τοῖς μυσικοῖς ἐγκαλεῖσθαι παραγέλλασιν ὑπομείνας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τελεαὶς αὐτὰς εὐσεβὴς καθὼ δεισιδαίμων γινόμενος. περὶ ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἔχει δρησκίαν ἀμφίβολον. Sopater in *Divis. Quæst.*

^b — ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πλάτων τὴν Κόρην ἤσπασε· καὶ ἡ Δήμητρα αἰλωμένη κατὰ τὰς ἐρήμους τὸ τέκνον ἐζητεῖ· καὶ τῷτον τὸν μύθον εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι πῦρ. Just. Mart. *Orat. ad Græc. prope init.* Διὸ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθην μυσικόν· καὶ τὴν πλανήν, καὶ ἡν αἰσπαγὴν, καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δαδεχεῖ. Clemens Alex. in *Protreptico*, p. 94

of bringing in the scenes of heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and whatever related to the future state of men and heroes.

But to soften this paradox all we can, it may be proper to enquire into the nature of the *Æneis*.

Homer's two poems had each a plain and entire story, to convey as plain and simple a moral: and in this, he is justly esteemed excellent. The Roman poet could make no improvements here: the Greek was complete and perfect; so that the patrons of Virgil, even Scaliger himself, are forced to seek for his superior advantages in his episodes, descriptions, similes, and in the chastity and correctness of his thoughts and diction. In the mean time they have all overlooked the principal advantage he had over his great Exemplar.

Virgil found the epic poem in the first rank of human compositions; but this was too narrow a circuit for his enlarged ambition: he was not content that its subject should be to instruct the world in MORALS; much less did he think of PHYSICS, though he was fond of natural enquiries, and Homer's Allegorizers had opened a back-door to let in the Philosopher with the Poet; but he aspired to make it a SYSTEM OF POLITICS. On this plan he wrote the *Æneis*; which is, indeed, as compleat an Institute in verse, by EXAMPLE, as the *Republics* of Plato and Tully were in prose by PRECEPT. Thus he enlarged the bounds, and added a new province to epic poesy. But though every one saw that AUGUSTUS was shadowed in the person of ÆNEAS, yet it being supposed that those political instructions, which the poet designed for the service of mankind, were solely for the use of his Master, they missed of the true nature of the poem. And in this ignorance, the succeeding epic writers, following a work whose genius they did not understand, wrote worse than if they

they had only taken Homer, and his simpler plan, for their direction. A great modern Poet, and best judge of their merit, assures us of this fact; and what has been said will help us to explain the reason of it: “The other epic poets (says this admirable writer) have used the same practice [that of Virgil, of running two fables into one] but generally carry it so far, as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time.”

Such was the revolution Virgil brought about in this noblest region of poesy; an improvement so great, that the truest poet had need of all the assistance the sublimest genius could lend him: nothing less than the joint aid of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* being able to furnish out the execution of his great idea: for a *system of Politics* delivered in the example of a great Prince, must shew him in every public adventure of life. Hence Æneas was, of necessity, to be found voyaging, with Ulysses, and fighting, with Achilles.

But if the improved nature of his subject compelled him to depart from that simplicity in the fable, which Aristotle, and his best interpreter, Bossu, find so divine in Homer^d; he gained considerable advantages by it in other circumstances of the composition: for now, those ornaments and decorations, for whose insertion the critics could give no other reason than to raise the *dignity* of the Poem, become *essential* to the Subject. Thus the choice of Princes and Heroes for his personages, which were, before, only used to grace the scene, now constitute the na-

^c *Preface to the Iliad of Homer.*

^d Nous ne trouverons point, dans la fable de l'*Eneide*, cette simplicité qu' Aristote a trouvée si divine dans Homère. *Traité du poëme epique*, lib. i. cap. xi.

ture of the action^e: and the machinery of the Gods, and their intervention on every occasion, which was to create the MARVELLOUS, becomes, in this improvement, an indispensable part of the poem. A *divine interposition* is in the very spirit of ancient legislation; where, we see, the principal care of the Lawgiver was to possess the people with the full belief of an over ruling Providence. This is the true reason of so much machinery in the *Æneis*; for which, modern critics impeach the author's judgment, who, in a poem written in the refined and enlightened age of Rome^f, followed the *marvellous* of Homer so closely. An excellent writer, speaking of Virgil in this view, says, "If there be any instance in the *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where *Æneas* is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. This circumstance seems to have the *marvellous* without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes without the interposition of any God, or rather, supernatural power capable of producing it^g." But surely this instance was ill chosen. The poet makes *Æneas* say, on this occasion,

^e —"Le retour (says Bossu) d'un homme en sa maison, & la querelle de deux autres, n'ayant rien de grand en soi, deviennent des actions illustres & importantes, lorsque dans le choix des noms, le poete dit que c'est l'*Ulysse* qui retourne en *Ithaque*, & que c'est *Achille* & *Agamemnon* qui querellent."—He goes on, "Mais il y a des actions qui d'elles mêmes sont très importantes, comme l'*établissement*, ou la ruine d'un état, ou d'une religion. Telle est donc l'action de l'*Eneide*." lib. ii. cap. 19. He saw here a remarkable difference in the subjects; it is strange this should not have led him to see that the *Æneis* is of a different species.

^f Ce qui est beau dans Homère pourroit avoir été mal reçu dans les ouvrages d'un poete du tems d'Auguste. *Idem*, lib. iii. cap. 8. *De l'admirable*.

^g Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 316. quarto edit. 1721.

Nymphas venerabar agrestes,
 Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis,
 Rite secundarent visus OMENQUE levarent^h.

Now *omens* were of two kindsⁱ, the natural and supernatural. This in question, was of the latter sort, produced by the intervention of the Gods, as appears by his calling this adventure, MONSTRA DEUM: it was of the nature of those *portentous showers of blood* so frequently occurring in the roman history. And the poet was certainly within the bounds of the probable, while he told no more than what their gravest writers did not scruple to record in their annals.

But this was not done merely to raise admiration. He is here (as we observe) in his legislative character; and writes to possess the people of the interposition of the Gods, in OMENS and PRODIGIES. This was the method of the old Lawgivers. So Plutarch, as quoted above, tells us, “that with divinations

^h Lib. iii.

ⁱ Ulysses, in Homer, mentions both these sorts in the following lines,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἰ μὲν —
 Φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων
 Ἐνδοθεν, ἐκλοσθῆν δὲ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φανήτω.

The word *omen* in its proper sense signifies *futurae rei signum, quod ex sermone loquentis capitur*. Tully says, lib. i. *Divin.* “Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant omina.” This sort of omen was supposed to depend much upon the will of the person concerned in the event. Hence the phrases *accepit omen, arripuit omen*. This, as we say, was its first and proper signification. It was afterwards applied to *things*, as well as *words*. So Paternulus speaking of the head of Sulpicius on the rostrum, says it was *velut omen imminentis proscriptionis*. And Suetonius of Augustus: “Auspicia quædam & omina pro certissimis observabat. Si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextero induceretur, ut dirum.” It was used still in a larger sense to signify an *augury*, as by Tully, *De Div.* lib. i.

Sic aquilæ clarum firmavit Jupiter omen.

And lastly, in the most generical sense of all, for a portent or *prodigy* in general, as in the place before us.

“and

“ and OMENS, Lycurgus sanctified the Lacedemo-
 “ nians, Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and
 “ Deucalion all the Greeks in general; and by hopes
 “ and fears kept up in them the awe and reverence
 “ of Religion.” The scene of this adventure is laid,
 with the utmost propriety, on the uncivilized, in-
 hospitable shores of Thrace, to inspire horror for
barbarous manners, and an appetite for social life.
 On this account it is that our poet here deserts
 the Mythologists, and makes the age of CIVIL
 POLICY, (the time when men were first brought
 out of a state of nature) *the golden age*, and SA-
 TURN to govern in it. Thus Evander says,

Hæc nemora indigenæ fauni nymphæque tene-
 bant——

Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat; neque jun-
 gere tauros,

Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:

Sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.

Primus ab ætherio venit SATURNUS Olympo——

Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,

COMPOSUIT, LEGESQUE DEDIT^k.

Whereas Ovid, who speaks the sense of the Mytho-
 logists, makes the *golden age* to be *the state of na-
 ture*, and SATURN to govern there, before the erec-
 tion of *civil policy*.

Aurea prima fata est ætas, quæ, vindice nullo,

Sponte sua, SINE LEGE fidem rectumque colebat.

Pœna metusque aberant: NEC VERBA MINACIA

FIXO

Ære legebantur: nec supplex turba timebant

JUDICIS ora sui.——

Ipsa quoque immunis rastroke intacta, nec ullis

Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus:

Contentique cibus nullo cogente creatis,

Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fragra legebant,

Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora rubetis,

^k Lib. viii.

Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes.

Ver erat æternum——

Postquam SATURNO tenebrosa in Tartara misso——

Tum primum subiere domos——

Semina tum primum longis Cerealia fulcis

Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juvenci¹.

For it served the grave purpose of the philosophic Poet to decry the state of nature; and it suited the fanciful paintings of the mythologic Poet to recommend it.

But every thing in this poem points to great and public ends. The turning *the ships into sea-deities*, in the ninth book, has the appearance of something infinitely more extravagant, than the *myrtle dropping blood*, and has been more generally and severely censured; and indeed, if defended, it must be on other principles. The philosophic commentators of Homer's poem, had brought the fantastic refinement of Allegory into great vogue. We may estimate the capacity of Virgil's judgment in not catching at so alluring a bait, by observing that some of the greatest of the modern epic poets, who approached nearest to Virgil in genius, have been betrayed by it. Yet here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in passing. And the adventure in question is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the ships into sea-deities, he would insinuate, I suppose, the great advantages of cultivating a naval power; such as extended commerce, and the dominion of the Ocean; which, in poetical language, is becoming *deities of the sea*.

Mortalem eripiam formam, magnique jubebo

Æquoris esse Deas——

He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book, where he makes these transformed sea-nymphs accompany Æneas, and his fleet of auxiliaries, through the Tyrrhene sea.

¹ Metam. lib. i.

Atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum
 Occurrit comitum: nymphæ, quas alma Cybele
 Numen habere maris, nymphasque e navibus esse
 Jusserat——

Agnoscent longe regem lustrantque choreis.

This Ministerial hint was the more important and seasonable, as all Octavius's traverses, in his way to Empire, were from his want of a sufficient naval Power; first in his War with Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards with Sextus, the son of Pompey the Great. Nor was it, at this time, less flattering to Augustus; to whom the Alexandrians erected a magnificent Temple, Porticoes, and sacred Groves, where he was worshiped under the title of CÆSAR THE PROTECTOR AND PATRON OF SAILORS. So he became a *Sea-God* and at the head of these *Goddeses*. For as one of his Flatterers said,

“Præsentī tibi MATUROS largimur honores:

“Jurandasque TUUM PER NOMEN ponimus aras.”

As the not taking the true scope of the *Æneis*, hath occasioned mistakes, to Virgil's disadvantage, concerning the *plan and conduct* of the poem; so hath it likewise, concerning the *Characters*. The PIETY of Æneas, and his high veneration for the Gods, so much offends a celebrated French writer^m, that he says, *the hero was fitter to found a religionⁿ than a monarchy*. He did not know, that the image of a perfect Lawgiver is held out to us in Æneas: and had he known that, he had perhaps been ignorant, that it was the office of such a one to found *religions* and colleges of priests^o, as well as states

^m Monsieur de St. Evremont.

ⁿ i. e. a community of monks.

^o “Ενθα Προμηθεύς,

Ἰαπεθιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα,

Ὃς πρῶτ’ ΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ καὶ ΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟ ΝΗΟΥΣ

ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ, πρῶτ’ δὲ καὶ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ.

and corporations. And Virgil tells us this was the office of his hero,

Dum conderet URBEM,
Inferretque DEOS Latio——

On the other hand Turnus, whose manners are contrasted with those of our Hero, is, on his very first appearance, marked out by his irreverence to the Priests of Juno. But the humanity of Æneas offends this critic as well as his piety; he calls him a mere St. Swithin, always raining. The beauty of that circumstance escaped him. It was proper to represent a perfect Lawgiver as quickly touched with all the affections of humanity: and the example was the rather to be enforced, because vulgar Politicians are but too generally seen divested of these common notices; and the habit of vulgar heroism is apt to induce passions very opposite to them. Thus Virgil having painted Turnus in all the colours of Achilles, and Æneas in those of Hector (for the subject of the *Iliad* being the destruction of a vicious and corrupt Community, the fittest instrument was a brutal warrior, *acer, iracundus*, such as Achilles; and the subject of the *Æneid* being the erection of a great and virtuous Empire, the fittest instrument was a pious patriot, like Hector,) Turnus, I say, was to be characterised as one delighting in blood and slaughter.

Sævit amor ferri, & SCELERATA infania belli,
Ira super^p——

And, to make this passion the more detestable, the Poet tells us it was inspired into him by a Fury. But when he represents Æneas as accepting the favourable signs from Heaven, which pushed him on to war, he draws him, agreeable to such a character,

^p Lib. vii. v. 461.

compassionating the miseries which his very enemies^a by their breach of faith, were to suffer in it.

Heu, quantæ miseris cædes Laurentibus instant!
Quas pœnas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa
per undas

Scuta virûm, galeasque, & fortia corpora volves,
Tibri pater! poscant acies, & fœdera rumpant^a.

But the circumstances of his Mistress, as well as those of his Rival, are artfully contrived to set off His PIETY. On excusing his departure to the enraged Queen of Carthage, as forced by the command of the Gods, she is made to answer him with this Epicurean scoff,

“ Scilicet is superis LABOR est, ea cura QUIETOS
“ SOLLICITAT^r ———

very properly put into the mouth of a Woman immersed in voluptuous pleasures. Yet the Poet takes care to tell us, that her impiety, like Turnus's delight in blood and slaughter, was inspired by the Furies.

“ Heu! Furiis incensa feror ———

But there is a further beauty in this circumstance of the Episode. These two Lovers are made the Founders of the two Hostile States of Rome and Carthage. So, this was to insinuate (in support of the author's main purpose) That it was want of religion which occasioned the *Punica Fides*; and the pious culture of it, which created the

Altæ Moenia Romæ.

Again, the Hero was to be drawn no less master of himself, under the charms of the softer passions, than under the violence of the rougher and more horrid. M. Voltaire says,

^a Lib. viii. v. 537.

^r Lib. iv.

Virgile orne mieux la raison,
 A plus d' art, autant d' harmonie ;
 Mais il s' epuise avec Didon,
 Et rate à la fin Lavinie.

But this ingenious man did not consider, that the Episode of Dido and Æneas, was not given to ornament his poem with an amusing tale of a love adventure, but to expose the public mischiefs which arise from Rulers' indulging themselves in this voluptuous weakness, while they become

Regnorum immemores, turpique cupidine captos.
 The Poet therefore had defeated his own design, if when he had recovered his Hero from this weakness, and made him say of his destined Empire in Italy,

—hic Amor, hæc Patria est—

if when he had perfected his Character and brought him to the end of his labours, he had still drawn him struggling with this impotent and unruly passion.

Nor is the view, in which we place this poem, less serviceable to the vindication of the Poet's other characters. The learned author of the *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, will allow me to differ from him, in thinking that those *uniform manners* in the Æneis, which he speaks of, was the effect of design, not, as he would have it, of custom and habit: “ Virgil, says he, had seen much of the
 “ splendor of a court, the magnificence of a palace,
 “ and the grandeur of a royal equipage: accordingly
 “ his representations of that part of life, are more
 “ august and stately than Homer's. He has a greater regard to decency, and those polished manners,
 “ that render men so much of a piece, and make
 “ them all resemble one another in their conduct and
 “ behaviour.” For the Æneis being a system of

Politics, what this writer calls *the eternity of a government, the form of a magistrature, and plan of dominion*, must needs be *familiar with the Roman poet*; and nothing could be more to his purpose, than a representation of *polished manners*; it being the Legislator's office to tame and break men to humanity; and to make them disguise, at least, if they cannot be brought to lay aside, their savage habits.

But this key to the *Æneis* not only clears up many passages obnoxious to the critics, but adds infinite beauty to a great number of incidents throughout the whole poem; of which take the following instances, the one, in *Religion*, and the other, in *civil Policy*.

I. *Æneas*, in the eighth book, goes to the Court of *Evander*, in order to engage him in a confederacy against the common enemy. He finds the king and his people busied in the celebration of an annual sacrifice. The purpose of the voyage is dispatched in a few lines, and the whole episode is taken up in a matter altogether foreign to it, that is to say, the sacrifice, the feast, and a long history of *Hercules's* adventure with *Cacus*. But it is done with great art and propriety; and in order to introduce, into this political poem, that famous institute of *Cicero*, (in his book *Of Laws*) designed to moderate the excess of labouring superstition, the *ignotæ ceremoniæ*, as he calls them, which at that time so much abounded in *Rome*.—"Divos & eos, qui
"cœlestes semper habiti, colunto, & ollos, quos
"ENDO COELO MERITA VOCAVERINT, HERCULEM,
"LEM, Liberum, *Æsculapium*, Castorem, Pollucem,
"Quirinum"—Thus copied by *Virgil*, in the beginning of *Evander's* speech to *Æneas*.

Rex Evandrus ait: Non hæc solemnia nobis,
Has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
VANA SUPERSTITIO VETERUMQUE IGNARA DE-
ORUM

Impo-

Impofuit. *Sævis*, hofpes Trojane, *periclis*
 Servati facimus, MERITOSQUE novamus HONO-
 RES——

A leſſon of great importance to the pagan Lawgiver. This *Vana ſuperſtitio ignara veterum deorum* was, as we have ſhewn, a matter he took much care to rectify in the *Mysteries*; not by deſtroying that ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of dead men, which was indeed his own invention, but by ſhewing *why* they paid that worſhip; namely, for benefits done to the whole race of mankind, by thoſe deified Heroes.

Quare agite, o juvenes! *tantarum in munere laudum*, &c.

The concluſion of Evander's ſpeech,

COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM, & date vina
 volentes,

alludes to that other inſtitute of Cicero, in the ſame book Of Laws. “SEPARATIM nemo habeffit Deos: “neve NOVOS, neve advenas, niſi publice adſcitos, “PRIVATIM colunto.” Of which he gives the reaſon in his comment, “ſuoſque Deos, aut Novos “aut Alienigenas coli, confuſionem habet religio- “num, & ignotas ceremonias.”

Nor ſhould we omit to obſerve a further beauty in this epiſode; and, in imitation, ſtill, of Cicero; who, in his book Of Laws, hath taken the beſt of the Roman Inſtitutes for the foundation of his ſyſtem: For the worſhip of HERCULES, as introduced by Evander, and adminiſtered by the POTITI on the altar called the ARA MAXIMA, was, as Dion. Hal. and Livy tell us, the oldeſt eſtabliſhment in Rome; and continued for many ages in high veneration. To this the following lines allude,

Hanc ARAM luco ſtatuit, quæ MAXIMA ſemper,
 &c.

—Jamque ſacerdotes, primuſque POTITIUS, ibant.

But

But Virgil was so learned in all that concerned the Roman ritual, that it was a common saying, (as we collect from Macrobius) *Virgilius noster Pontifex maximus videtur*: And that writer not apprehending the reason of so exact an attention to sacred things, being ignorant of the nature of the poem, says, MIRANDUM est hujus poetæ et circa nostra et circa externa sacra doctrinam^t.

2. In the *ninth* book we have the fine episode of Nisus and Euryalus; which presents us with many new graces, when considered (which it ought to be) as a representation of one of the most famous and singular of the grecian Institutions. CRETE, that ancient and celebrated School of legislation, had a civil custom, which the Spartans first, and afterwards all the principal cities of Greece^u borrowed from

^t Satur. 1. iii. c. 6.

^u The Etrusci seem to have had the same custom, in which the public reposed its last confidence. Livy tells us, that in the 444th year of Rome, when the affairs of this people were grown desperate by the repeated defeats of their armies, they had recourse to the *lex sacra*, as their last refuge. Of which the historian gives this succinct and obscure account,—"ad Vadimoniis
" lacum Etrusci lege sacrata coacto exercitu, quum vir virum le-
" gisset, quantis nunquam alias ante simul copiis, simul animis
" dimicarunt," &c. lib. ix. The commentators are at a loss for the meaning of this *sacred law*, in raising an army where every soldier was to chuse his fellow. I certainly think it to be the Institution in question: the Etrusci were descended from the Pelasgi, and had afterwards civilized and polished themselves by Grecian customs, as one may well suppose from the character Livy gives of them in this book—"Cære educatus apud hospites, Etruscis
" inde literis eruditus erat:—habet autores, vulgo tum Roma-
" nos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri soli-
" tos." But, in general, the giving a traditive original even to the most characteristic customs, is very fallacious. MAHOMET, who certainly did not BORROW from the ancient Grecian practices, yet established the same kind of Fraternity amongst his followers, in the first year of the Hegira. See Abul feda *De vita Mahomedis*, cap. 26. init. *De Fraternitate instituta inter Moslemos*. And, what is still more extraordinary, the Missionaries assure us, that it is one of the most sacred Institutions amongst the warriors

from them, for every man of distinguished valour or wisdom to adopt a favourite youth, for whose education he was answerable, and whose manners he had the care of forming. Hence Nisus is said to be

ACERRIMUS ARMIS,

Hyrtacides;

And Euryalus,

COMES Euryalus, quo PULCHRIOR alter

Non fuit Æneadum, Trojana neque induit arma;

Ora PUER prima signans INTONSA JUVENTA.

The LOVERS (as they were called) and their YOUTHS always served and fought together;—so Virgil of these:

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant,

Tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.

The Lovers used to make presents to their favourite youths.—So Nisus tells his friend:

Si, TIBI, quæ posco promittunt (nam *mibi* facti
Fama sat est) &c.

warrior-nations of the free people in North America. Which, because it so exactly resembles the Grecian, in all its circumstances, I shall give, as I find it described by one of their best writers. “Chacun parmi eux a un ami à peu pres de son age, “auquel il s’attache, et qui s’attache à lui par des liens indissolubles. Deux hommes ainsi unis pour leur intérêt commun, doivent tout faire & tout risquer pour s’entr’aider, & se secourir mutuellement: la mort même, à ce qu’ils croient, ne les separe que pour un tems: ils comptent bien de se rejoindre dans l’autre monde pour ne se plus quitter, persuadés qu’ils y auront encore besoin l’un de l’autre.—On ajoute, que ces amis, quand ils se trouvent éloignés les uns des autres, s’invoquent reciproquement dans les périls, ou ils se recontrent; ce qu’il faut sans doute entendre de leurs genies tutélaires. Les PRESENTS sont les noeuds de ces associations, l’intérêt & le besoin les fortifient; c’est un secours sur lequel on peut presque toujours compter. Quelques uns pretendent qu’ils s’y glisse du desordre; mais j’ai sujet de croire qu’au moiens cela n’est pas general.” *Journal d’un voyage dans l’Amerique Septentrionale par le P. de Charlevoix*, tome vi. p. 14.

The states of Greece, where this Institution prevailed, reaped so many advantages from it, that they gave it the greatest encouragement by their laws: so that Cicero, in his book *Of a republic*, observed, “*opprobrio fuisse adolescentibus si amatores non haberent?*” Virgil has been equally intent to recommend it by all the charms of poetry and eloquence. The amiable character, the affecting circumstance, the tenderness of distress, are all inimitably painted.

The youth so educated, were found to be the best bulwark of their country, and most formidable to the enemies of civil liberty. On which account, the Tyrants, wherever they prevailed, used all their arts to suppress an Institution so opposite to private interest and ambition. The annals of ancient Greece afford many examples of the bravery of these Bands, who cheerfully attempted the most hazardous adventures^w. So that Virgil did but follow the custom of the best policied States (which it was much for his honour to do) when he put these two friends on one of the most daring actions of the whole war; as old Aletes understood it:

Dî patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum, & tam certa tulistis,
Pectora.

^w One can hardly account for that strange mistake of the Abbé Velly in his elegant History of France, where speaking of these *fraternities in arms* amongst the *Northern Nations*, (for nature dictates the same practice to all, in the same circumstances) he says——“On n'en trouve AUCUN VESTIGE chez ces fieres Republiques qui s'étoient attribué l'esprit et la politesse à l'exclusion de tout autre Peuple: mais elles sont de toute ancienneté chez les Nations Septentrionales, que la Grece & l'Italie plutôt civilisées, ont jugé à propos de nommer Sauvages et Barbares.” Tom. v. p. 58.

Plutarch, speaking of the Thebans, in the *Life of Pelopidas*, says, that “ Gorgias first enrolled the
 “ SACRED BAND, consisting of three hundred chosen
 “ men; and that this corps was said to be com-
 “ posed of LOVERS and their FRIENDS. It is re-
 “ ported, says he, that it continued unconquered till
 “ the battle of Chæroneia; and when, after that ac-
 “ tion, Philip was surveying the dead, and came to
 “ the very spot where these three hundred fell, who
 “ had charged in close order so fatally on the Ma-
 “ cedonian lances, and observed how they lay heap-
 “ ed upon one another, he was amazed, and being
 “ told, that this was the band of *Lovers* and their
 “ *Friends*, he burst into tears, and said, *Accursed be*
 “ *they who can suspect that these men either did or*
 “ *suffered any thing dishonest.* But certainly (conti-
 “ nues my author) this institution of Lovers did not
 “ arise in Thebes, as the poets feigned, from the
 “ PASSION of Laius, but from the WISDOM of Le-
 “ gislators *.” Such was the Friendship our poet
 “ would here represent, where he says,

NISUS AMORE PIO pueri—

and where he makes Ascanius call Euryalus,

VENERANDE puer—

The one dies in defence of the other; revenges his death; and then falls with him, like the Lovers in the SACRED BAND:

* Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὡς φασιν, συνέλαξαι Γοργίδας πρῶτος, ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τριακοσίων, — ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἐξ ἐρασῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι τὸ σύστημα τῆτο. — λέγεται δὲ διαμεῖναι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀήττητον ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶν τῆς νεκρῆς ὁ Φίλιππος. ἔση καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνέλυσαν κεῖσθαι τῆς τριακοσίας ἐναντίας ἀπηνήλικτας ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἀπάντας ἐν τοῖς σενοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμιγνόμενοι, θανύσαντες, καὶ πυθόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐρασῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων οὗτος εἴη λόχος δακρύσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς οἱ τέτρες τι ποιεῖν ἢ πᾶσιν αἰσχρὸν ὑπονοῦντες. Ὅλως δὲ τῆς περὶ τῆς ἐρασῆς συνηθείας, ἔχ' ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Θεβαίους τὸ Λαῖον πάθος ἀρχὴν παρέσχεεν, ἀλλ' οἱ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ. Vol. ii. p. 218, 219. Brian. ed.

moriens

moriens animam abstulit hosti.

Tum super exanimem sese projecit AMICUM
Confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.

And here let it be observed, that, as this episode is given for a picture of this Institution in it's purity; so, in the Enemies' quarter, he hath given another drawing of it, in it's degeneracy and corruption: for the SACRED BAND, like the MYSTERIES, underwent the common fate of time and malice.

—Tu quoque flaventem prima lanugine malas
Dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia Cydon
Dardania stratus dextra securus amorum
Qui juvenum tibi semper erant, miserande jaceres^r.

The poet hath observed the same conduct, as we shall see hereafter, with regard to the *pure* and the *corrupt* MYSTERIES.

Before I leave these previous circumstances, permit me only to take notice, that this was the *second species* of the EPIC POEM; our own country-man, Milton, having produced the *third*: for just as Virgil rivaled Homer, so Milton was the emulator of both. He found Homer possessed of the province of MORALITY; Virgil of POLITICS: and nothing left for him, but that of RELIGION. This he seized, as ambitious to share with them in the Government of the poetic world: and by means of the superior dignity of his subject, hath gotten to the head of that Triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the *three species* of the Epic poem; for its largest sphere is HUMAN ACTION; which can be only considered in a *moral*, a *political*, or *religious* view: and these the three great MAKERS; for each of their Poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand Scene

was closed: and all further improvements of the Epic at an end.

It being now understood, that the *Æneis* is in the style of ancient legislation, it would be hard to think that so great a master in his art, should overlook a DOCTRINE, which, we have shewn, was the foundation and support of ancient Politics; namely a *future state of rewards and punishments*. Accordingly he hath given us a complete system of it, in imitation of his models, which were Plato's *vision of Erus*, and Tully's *dream of Scipio*. Again, as the Lawgiver took care to support this *Doctrine* by a very extraordinary Institution, and to commemorate it by a RITE, which had all the allurements of spectacle; and afforded matter for the utmost embellishments of poetry, we cannot but confess a description of such a Scene would add largely to the grace and elegance of his work; and must conclude he would be invited to attempt it. Accordingly, we say, he hath done this likewise, in the allegorical descent of *Æneas* into Hell; which is no other than an enigmatical representation of his INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES.

Virgil was to represent an Heroic Lawgiver in the person of *Æneas*; now, INITIATION into the *Mysteries* was what sanctified his Character and enobled his Function. Hence we find all the ancient Heroes and Lawgivers were, in fact, initiated². And it was no wonder the Legislator should endeavour by his example to give credit to an institution of his own creating.

Another reason for the Hero's initiation was the important instructions the founders of Empire re-

² Δεῖξεν Τριπτόλεμω τε Διόκλει τε Πληξίππῳ
Εὐμόλπῃ τε βίῃ, κελὲω δ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,
Δησμοσύνην ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὀργία πᾶσιν.

Homeri Fragm. *Hymn. in Cer.* apud Paus. *Corinth.*

ceived in matters that concerned their office^a, as we may see in the second section of the third book.

A third reason for his initiation, was their custom of seeking support and inspiration from the God who presided in the *Mysteries*^b.

A fourth reason for his initiation, was the circumstance in which the poet has placed him, unsettled in his affairs, and anxious about his future fortune. Now, amongst the uses of initiation, the advice and direction of the ORACLE was not the least: and an oracular bureau was so necessary an appendix to some of the *Mysteries*, as particularly the *Samothracian*, that Plutarch, speaking of Lyfander's initiation there, expresses it by a word that signifies *consulting the oracle*, Ἐν δὲ Σαμοθράκῃ χρηστηριαζόμενον, &c. on this account, Jason, Orpheus, Hercules, Castor, and (as Macrobius says^c) Tarquinius Priscus, were every one of them initiated into the *Mysteries*.

All this the poet seems clearly to have intimated in the speech of Anchises to his son:

Lectos juvenes fortissima corda,
Defer in Italiam.—Gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latio est. Dilis tamen ante
INFERNAS accede DOMOS—
Tum genus omne tuum, &c, quæ dentur mœnia,
DISCES^d.

^a — γίνεσθαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ κατὰ πάντα βελτίωνας ἑαυτῶν τὰς τῶν μυσηρίων κοινωνήσαντας· διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡρώων τε καὶ ἡμιθέων τὰς ἐπιφανείας πεφιλοκλήσθαι μέγαλα θύειν τῆς τελείης· καὶ γὰρ Ἰασίωνα καὶ Διοσκύρου, ἔτι δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ὀρφέα μυθηθέντας ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς στρατείαις, διὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν τέτων ἐπιφάνειαν. *Diod. p. 224.*

^b Lib. iii. cap. 4.

^c The rhetor Sopater, in his *Διαίρησεις ζήτημάτων*, makes Pericles say, Πιστεύω ταῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι θεαῖς, τῶτόν μοι ἐκβέβηκέναι τὸν νόον, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τῶτο ἐξ ἀνακρίσεων δύναι τῶν μυθικῶν.

^d *Æn. v. ver. 729, & seq.*

A fifth reason was the conforming to the old popular tradition, which said, that several other Heroes of the Trojan times, such as Agamemnon and Ulysses, had been initiated^e.

A sixth and principal was, that AUGUSTUS, who was shadowed in the person of Æneas, had been initiated into the ELEUSINIAN *Mysteries*^f.

While the *Mysteries* were confined to Egypt, their native country, and while the Grecian Lawgivers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of designation to their office, the ceremony would be naturally described, in terms highly allegorical. This was, in

^e Ἀγαμέμνονά φασι μεμνημένον, ἐν ταραχῇ ὄντα πολλῇ καὶ Τροίαν, δι' ἀκαλασσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παῦσαι τὴν γάσιν, πορφυρίδα ἔχοντα—Ὀδυσσεά φασὶ μεμνημένον ἐν Σαμοθράκη χησασθαι τῷ κρηδέμνῳ ἀντὶ ταύτης. Scholia Apollon. Rhod. Arg. lib. i. ver. 916.

Ὁφρα δαέντες

Ἀρρήκτες ἀγανῆσι τελεσφορίῃσι δερμάσας —

^f Suet. Oct. c. xciii.—Hence the reader will be able to judge of the delicacy of taste, and accuracy of discernment, in a late Writer; who, in a book called *Elements of Criticism*, corrects Virgil's want of judgment in this part of the *Æneis*, after having given instances of defects full as notorious, in the *Georgics*. “An episode in a narrative Poem (says this Man of Taste) being, in effect, an Accessory, demands not that strict union with the principal subject, which is requisite betwixt a whole and its constituent parts. The relation however, of *Principal* and *Accessory* being pretty intimate, an Episode LOOSELY connected with the principal subject will never be graceful. I GIVE FOR AN EXAMPLE the descent of Æneas into Hell, which employs the 6th Book of the *Æneid*. The Reader IS NOT PREPARED for this important event. NO CAUSE IS ASSIGNED that can make it appear NECESSARY, or even natural, to suspend, for so long a time, the principal action,” &c. &c. V. i. p. 38.—The Critic having told us that a *strict union is not required between the Principal and Accessory*, finds fault with the *Accessory*, that no cause is given to make it appear, that it is NECESSARY to the *principal*. However I ought not to be too severe on this great Critic, since the Observation was certainly made on purpose to recommend my interpretation of this *descent into Hell*; which shews, if not the *necessity*, yet the infinite grace and beauty of this noble *Accessory*, and the close and *natural* connexion it has with its *Principal*.

part, owing to the genius of the Egyptian manners ; in part, to the humour of Travellers ; but most of all, to the policy of Lawgivers ; who, returning home, to civilize a barbarous people, by Laws and Arts, found it useful and necessary (in order to support their own characters, and to establish the fundamental principle of a FUTURE STATE) to represent *that* initiation, in which, was seen the condition of departed mortals in machinery, as AN ACTUAL DESCENT INTO HELL. This way of speaking was used by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others ; and continued even after the *Mysteries* were introduced into Greece, as appears by the fables of Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Theseus's *descent into hell*. But the allegory was generally so circumstanced, as to discover the truth concealed under it. So Orpheus is said to get to hell by the power of his harp :

Threïcia fretus cithara, fidibusque canoris :

that is, in quality of Lawgiver ; the harp being the known symbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. So again, in the lives of Hercules and Bacchus, we have the true history, and the fable founded on it, blended and recorded together. For we are told, that they were in fact initiated into the *Eleusinian Mysteries* ; and that it was just before their descent into Hell, as an aid and security in that desperate undertaking^s. Which, in plain speech, was no more, than that they were initiated into the *lesser Mysteries* before they were admitted into the *greater*. The same may be said of what is told us of Theseus's adventure. Near Eleusis there was a Well, called Callichorus ; and, adjoining to that, a *stone*, on which, as the tradition went, Ceres sat down, sad and weary, on her coming to Eleusis.

^s — Καὶ τὰς περὶ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον, καλῶντας εἰς αὐτὰ, πρότερον λόγῳ ἐνθάδε μνηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ δάρεσθαι τῆς ἐκείσε πορείας παρὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσασθαι. Auctor *Axiarchi*.

Hence the stone was named Agelastus, the *melancholy stone*^h. On which account it was deemed unlawful for the Initiated to sit thereon. “For Ceres (says Clemens) wandering about in search of her daughter Proserpine, when she came to Eleusis, grew weary, and sat down melancholy on the side of a well. So that, to this very day, it is unlawful for the Initiated to sit down there, lest they, who are now become perfect, should seem to imitate her in her desolate conditionⁱ.” Now let us see what they tell us concerning Theseus’s descent into hell. “There is also a stone (says the scholiast on Aristophanes) called by the Athenians, Agelastus; on which, they say, Theseus sat when he was meditating his descent into hell. Hence the stone had its name. Or, perhaps, because Ceres sat there, weeping, when she sought Proserpine^k.” All this seems plainly to intimate, that the *descent* of Theseus was his *entrance* into the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Which entrance (as we shall see hereafter) was a fraudulent intrusion.

Both Euripides and Aristophanes seem to confirm our interpretation of *these descents into hell*. Euripides, in his *Hercules furens*, brings the hero, just come from hell, to succour his family, and destroy the tyrant Lycus. Juno, in revenge, persecutes him with the Furies; and he, in his transport, kills his wife and children, whom he mistakes for his enemies.

^k Ἀγέλας ὁ πέτρα. So Ovid:

Hic primum sedit gelido moestissima saxo;

Illud Cecropidæ nunc quoque triste vocant.

ⁱ Ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηὸ κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς κόρης, περὶ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα, αὐτοκάμνει, καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπημένη. Τῷτο τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀπαγορεύεται εἰσέτι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τετέλεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ὑδρομένην. Clemens *Protrept*.

^k Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλας ὁ πέτρα καλεσμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπερ καθίσαι φασὶ Θεσέα μέλλουσα καθάβαινεν εἰς ἅδου ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ὄνομα τῇ πέτρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίῃσα, ὅταν ἐζήτει τὴν κόρην. Schol. *Equit. Aristoph.* l. 782.

When

When he comes to himself, he is comforted by his friend Theseus; who would excuse his excesses by the criminal examples of the Gods: a consideration, which, as I have observed above, greatly encouraged the people in their irregularities; and was therefore obviated in the Mysteries, by the detection of the vulgar errors of polytheism. Now Euripides seems plainly enough to have told us what he thought of the fabulous descents into hell, by making Hercules reply, like one just come from the celebration of the Mysteries, and entrusted with the ἀπόρρητα. “The examples (says he) which you bring of the Gods, are nothing to the purpose. I cannot think them guilty of the crimes imputed to them. I cannot apprehend, how one God can be the sovereign of another God.—A God, who is truly so, stands in need of no one. Reject we then these idle fables, which the poets teach concerning them.” A *secret*, which we must suppose, Theseus (whose entrance into the *Mysteries* was only a fraudulent intrusion) had not yet learnt.

The comic poet, in his *Frogs*, tells us as plainly what he too understood to be the ancient heroes’ descent into hell, by the equipage, which he gives to Bacchus, when he brings him in, enquiring the way of Hercules. It was the custom at the celebration of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, as we are told by the scholiast on the place, to have what was wanted in those rites, carried upon asses. Hence the proverb, *Asinus portat mysteria*: accordingly the poet introduces Bacchus, followed by his buffoon servant Xanthius bearing a bundle in like manner, and riding on an ass. And, lest the meaning of this should be mistaken, Xanthius, on Hercules’s telling Bacchus, that the inhabitants of Elysium were the Initiated, puts in, and says, “And I am *the ass carrying Mysteries*.” This was so broad a hint, that it seems to have awakened the old dreaming scholiast; who, when he comes to

that place, where the Chorus of the Initiated appear, tells us, we are not to understand this scene as really lying in the ELYSIAN FIELDS, but in the ELEUSINI-AN MYSTERIES¹.

Here then, as was the case in many other of the ancient fables, the pomp of expression betrayed willing posterity into the *marvellous*. But why need we wonder at this in the genius of more ancient times, which delighted to tell the commonest things in a highly figurative manner, when a writer of so late an age as Apuleius, either in imitation of Antiquity, or perhaps in compliance to the received phraseology of the *Mysteries*, describes his *initiation* in the same manner. “Accessi confinium mortis; & calcato
“Proserpinæ limine, per omnia vectus elementa re-
“meavi: nocte media vidi solem candido coruscan-
“tem lumine, Deos inferos & deos superos. Accessi
“coram, & adoravi de proximo^m.” Æneas could not have described his night’s journey to his companions, after he had been let out of the ivory gate, in properer terms, had it been indeed to be understood of a journey into Hell.

Thus, we see, Virgil was obliged to have his Hero initiated; and he actually had the authority of Antiquity to call this initiation *A Descent into Hell*, Ἡ Εἰς Ἀδου Καταβασίς. Hence some of the pretended Orphic odes, sung at the celebration of the *Mysteries*, bore this title, a name equivalent to ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ, or Ἱερός Λόγος. And surely he made use of his advantages with great judgment; for such a fiction animates the relation, which, delivered out of allegory, had been too cold and insipid for epic poetry.

¹ ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι εἰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν ἄδου μύσας φαίνεται λέγειν ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀλη-
θείᾳ διὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἰφίστατο ἡ σκηνὴ τῆς δεινότητος. in ver.

We see, from Æneas's urging the example of those Heroes and Lawgivers, who had been initiated before him, that his request was only for an *initiation*:

Si potuit manis arcessere conjugis Orpheus,
Threïcia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris:
Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
Itque reditque viam toties: quid Thesea magnum,
Quid memorem Alciden? & mi genus ab Jove
summo.

It is to be observed, that Theseus is the only one of these ancient Heroes not recorded in history to have been initiated, though we have shewn that *his descent into hell* was, like that of the rest, only a view of the *Mysteries*. The reason is, his entrance was a violent intrusion.

Had an old poem, under the name of Orpheus, intituled, A DESCENT INTO HELL, been now extant, it would, probably, have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's *initiation*; and that the idea of this sixth book was taken from thence.

But further, it was customary for the poets of the Augustan age to exercise themselves on the subject of the *Mysteries*, as appears from Cicero, who desires Atticus, then at Athens, and *initiated*, to send to Chilius, a poet of eminenceⁿ, an account of the *Eleusinian* mysteries; in order, as it would seem, to insert into some poem he was then writing^o. Thus it appears, that both the ancient and contemporary poets afforded Virgil a pattern for this famous episode.

ⁿ See lib. i. ep. 16. *ad Atticum*.

^o Chilius te rogat & ego ejus rogatu ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ. lib. i. epist. 9. *ad Atticum*. On which Victorius observes, “*πά- τρια* fere omnes excusi, quemadmodum est in antiquis, habent: “*ut intelligat ritus patrios & institutiones illius sacræ familiæ, & “*augusta mysteria, ut inquit Cicero, ii. *De legg.*”

Even Servius saw thus far into Virgil's design, as to say, that *many* things were here delivered *according to the profound learning of the Egyptian theology*^P. And we have shewn, that the doctrines taught in the *Mysteries*, were invented by that people. But though I say this was our poet's general design, in this famous episode, I would not be supposed to mean, that he followed no other guides in the particular circumstances of it. Several of them are borrowed from Homer; and several from the philosophic notions of Plato: some of these will be taken notice of, in their place.

The great Agent in this affair is the SIBYL: and, as a Virgin, she sustains two principal and distinct parts: that of the inspired *Priestess*, to pronounce the ORACLE (whose connexion with the *Mysteries* is spoken of above); and that of *Hierophant*, to conduct the Initiated through the whole CELEBRATION.

Her first part begins,

Ventum erat ad limen, cum Virgo, *Poscere fata.*

Tempus, ait. Deus, ecce, Deus—

O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis, &c.

and ends,

Ut primum cessit furor, & rabida ora quierunt.

Her second part begins at,

Sate sanguine divûm,

Tros Anchisiade, &c.

and continues through the whole book. For as we have observed, the Initiated had a guide or conductor, called ἱεροφάντης, Μυσαγωγός, ἱερεὺς, indifferently of either sex^Q, who was to instruct him in the preparatory ceremonies, and lead him through, and explain

^P Multa per altam scientiam theologorum Ægyptiorum.

^Q Τὰς ἱερείας [Δήμητρός] Μελίσσας ἐκάλεον οἱ ποιηταί. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. Μελίσσας κυρίως τὰς τῆς Δήμητρός ἱερείας φησί. Schol. Pind. Pythion.

to him, all the shews and representations of the *Mysteries*. Hence Virgil calls the Sibyl MAGNA SACERDOS, and DOCTA COMES, words of equivalent signification: and this, because the *Mysteries* of Ceres were always celebrated in Rome by female priests^r. And as the female *Mystagogue*, as well as the male^s, was devoted to a single life, so was the Cumæan Sibyl, whom he calls *Casta Sibylla*. Another reason why a Priestess is given to conduct him, is, because Proserpine presides in this whole affair. And the name of the Priestess in the *Eleusinian Mysteries* shews that she properly belonged to Proserpine, though she was also called the Priestess of Ceres. “The Ancients (says Porphyrius) called the Priestesses of Ceres Μέλισσαι, as being the ministers or Hierophants of the subterraneous goddess; and Proserpine herself, Μελιτώδης^t.” And Æneas addresses her in the language of the Aspirant, to the Hierophant:

Potes namque omnia: nec te
Nequidquam lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis.

and she answers much in the style of those sacred Ministers,

^r So the satyrift,

Paucæ adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignæ:

Juv. Sat. vi.

^s Hierophanta apud Athenas eviratur virum, & æterna debilitate fit castus. Hieron. ad Geron. *De Monogamia*. Cereris sacerdotes, viventibus etiam viris, & consentientibus, amica separatione viduantur. Tertul. *De Monogamia*, sub finem. Καὶ τὸν ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ καὶ τὰς ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΔΑΣ, καὶ τὸν δαδῆχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυρρίνης ἔχειν σέφανον· δι’ αὐτὴν καὶ τῇ Δήμητρει προσδέσθαι ταύτην φησί. Schol. Sophocl. *Oedip.* col. v. 674.—It was for this reason that these female *hierophants* were called Μέλισσαι, as is well observed by the Schol, on Pind. in *Pyth.* the *bee* being, among the ancients, the symbol of chastity:

Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes
In Venerem solvunt.

^t Τὰς Δήμητρει ἱερείας, ὡς χθονίας θεᾶς μύσιδας, Μέλισσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλεον, αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κόρην Μελιτώδη. *De Antro nymph.*

Quod

Quod si tantus amor, &c.

& INSANO juvat indulgere labori ;

Accipe quæ peragenda prius.

For *insanus* is the same as ὀργιασινός, and this, as we are told by Strabo, was an inseparable circumstance in the celebration of the *Mysteries* ^u.

The first instruction the Priestess gives Æneas, is to search for the GOLDEN BOUGH, sacred to Proserpine ;

Aureus & foliis & lento vimine ramus,

Junoni infernæ sacer.

Servius can make nothing of this circumstance. He supposes it might possibly allude to a tree in the middle of the sacred grove of Diana's temple in Greece ; where, if a fugitive came for sanctuary, and could get off a branch from the tree, which was carefully guarded by the priests, he was to contend in single combat with one of them, and, if he overcame, was to take his place ^w. Though nothing can be more foreign to the matter in question than this rambling account, yet the Abbe Banier is content to follow it ^x, for want of a better ^y. But the truth is, under

^u Τῇ Δήμητρι νῆ Δία τὸ ΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ Βακχικόν, καὶ τὸ χορικόν, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελείας μυστικόν. lib. x.

^w But Servius, in his explanation of the *branch*, went upon the absurd supposition that Æneas's descent into hell was the same with that of Ulysses, in Homer, a *necromantic incantation* by sacrifice, to call up the shadows of the dead. "Ramus enim necesse erat, ut & unius causa esset interitus, unde & statim mortem subjungit Miseni : & ad sacra Proserpinæ accedere, nisi sublato ramo non poterat. Inferos autem subire, hoc dicit sacra celebrare Proserpinæ." And again, ad ver. 149. "Præterea jacet exanimus tibi corpus amici. Ac si diceret ; Est & alia opportunitas descendendi ad inferos, id est, Proserpinæ sacra peragendi. Duo enim horum sacrorum genera fuisse dicuntur ; unum NEKYOMANTIÆ, quod Lucanus exsequitur ; & aliud SCIOMANTIÆ, id est, divinationis per umbras ; σκία enim umbra est, & μαντεία, vaticinium, quod in Homero, quem Virgilius sequitur, lectum est."

^x *Explicat. histor. des fables*, vol. ii. p. 133. Ed. 1715.

^y The learned Selden in his comment on the ninth book of *Poly-olbion*, seems to approve the absurd conjecture of P. Crinitus, that

under this *branch*, is figured the *wreath of myrtle*, with which the Initiated were crowned, at the celebration of the *Mysteries*^z. 1. The *golden bough* is said to be sacred to Proserpine, and so, we are told, was the *myrtle*: Proserpine only is mentioned all the way; partly, because the *Initiation* is described as an actual descent into hell; but principally, because, when the RITES of the *Mysteries* were performed, Ceres and Proserpine were equally invoked; but when the SHEWS were represented, as in the first part of this Episode, then Proserpine alone presided. 2. The quality of this *golden bough*, with its *lento vine*, admirably describes the *tender branches of myrtle*. 3. The doves of Venus are made to direct Æneas to the tree:

Tum maximus heros
Maternas agnoscit aves.

They fly to it, and delight to rest upon it, as their mistress's favourite tree.

Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore fidunt.

For the *myrtle*, as is known to every one, was consecrated to Venus. And there is a greater propriety and beauty in this disposition, than appears at first sight. For not only the *myrtle* was dedicated to Proserpine as well as Venus, but the *doves* likewise, as Porphyry informs us^a.

that the *gold n-bough* signifies *mistletoe*: and would confirm it by that very reason, which absolutely overthrows it; viz. that Virgil COMPARES it to the *mistletoe*: for it is contrary to all the rules of good writing, whether simply figurative, or allegoric, to make the *comparison to the cover, the contents of the cover*: a COMPARISON necessarily implying, that the thing, to which another is compared, should be different from that other.

^z Μυσείνης στεφάνῳ ἐστεφανῆντο οἱ μεμνημένοι. Schol. Aristoph. Ranis.

^a Τῆς δὲ Φερεφάτης, παρὰ τὸ φέρειν τὴν φάτιαν, φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν ὄνομα τῶν θεολόγων. ἱερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φάτις. Porph. De Abst. lib. iv. § 16.

But the reader may ask, why is this myrtle-branch represented to be of *gold*? not merely for the sake of the *marvellous*, he may be assured. A *golden bough* was literally part of the sacred equipage in the *shews*, a burthen which the *Afs*, who carried the *Mysteries*, we may be sure, was chiefly proud of. This branch was sometimes wreathed into a crown, and worn on the head; at other times, it was carried in the hand. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us^b, from Dionysius Thrax the grammarian, that it was an Egyptian custom to hold a branch in the act of adoration. And of what kind *these branches* were, Apuleius tells us, in his description of a procession of the Initiated in the *Mysteries* of Isis. “Ibat tertius, attollens PAL-
“MAM AURO SUBTILITER FOLIATAM, nec non
“mercurialem etiam CADUCEUM^c.” The *Golden branch*, then, and the *Caduceus* were related. And accordingly Virgil makes the former do the usual office of the latter, in affording a free passage into the regions of the dead. Again, Apuleius, describing the fifth person in the procession, says, “Quintus
“auream vannum AUREIS congestam RAMULIS^d.” So that a *golden bough*, we see, was an important implement, and of very complicated intention in the *shews* of the *Mysteries*.

Æneas having now possessed himself of the *GOLDEN BOUGH*, a passport as necessary to his *descent* as a *myrtle crown* to *initiation*,

(Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore foetus,) carries it into the Sibyl's grot :

Et vatis portat sub tecta sibyllæ.

And this was to design initiation into the *lesser Mysteries*: for Dion Chrysostom^e tells us, it was per-

^b —παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὀδαλλῶν τῶν διδομένων τοῖς προσκυνῶσι.
Strom. lib. v. p. 568.

^c *Metam.* lib. xi. p. 383.

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Orat.* 12.

formed ἐν οἰκῇ μικρῇ, in a little narrow chapel, such a one as we must suppose the Sibyl's grot to be. The *Initiated* into these rites were called ΜΥΣΤΑΙ.

He is then led to the opening of the descent :

Speluncæ alta fuit, vastoque immanis biatu
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris.

And his reception is thus described :

Sub pedibus mugire solum & juga cœpta moveri
Sylvarum ; visæque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante dea.

All this is exactly similar to the fine description of the poet Claudian, where, he professedly and without disguise, speaks of the tremendous entry into these mystic Rites,

Jam mihi cernuntur trepidis delubra moveri
Sedibus, & claram dispergere fulmina lucem,
Adventum testata Dei. Jam magnus ab imis
Auditur fremitus terris, templumque remugit
Cecropium ; sanctasque faces attollit ELEUSIN ;
Angues Triptolemi stridunt, & squamea curvis
Colla levant attrita jugis—
Ecce procul ternas Hecate variata figuras
Exoritur †.

Both these descriptions agree exactly with the relations of the ancient Greek writers on this subject. Dion Chrysostom, speaking of *initiation* into the *Mysteries*, gives us this general idea of it : “ Just so it is, as
“ when one leads a Greek or Barbarian to be initiated
“ in a certain mystic dome, excelling in beauty and
“ magnificence ; where he sees many mystic sights,
“ and hears in the same manner a multitude of voices ;
“ where darkness and light alternately affect his

† De raptu Proserp. sub initio.

“ senses ;

“senses; and a thousand other uncommon things
 “present themselves before him^g.”

Our poet next relates the fanatic agitation of the *Mystagogue*, on this occasion,

Procul, o procul este, profani,
 Conclamat Vates, totoque abssistite luco.
 Tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto.

So again, Claudian, where he counterfeits the raptures and astonishment of the *Initiated*, and throws himself, as it were, like the Sibyl, into the middle of the scene,

Gressus removete, profani,
 Jam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus
 Expulit.

The PROCUL, O PROCUL ESTE, PROFANI of the Sibyl, is a literal translation of the formula used by the *Mystagogue*, at the opening of the *Mysteries*:

ΕΚΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΤΕ, ΒΕΒΗΛΟΙ.

But now the poet having determined to accompany his Hero through all the mysterious rites of his *initiation*, and conscious of the imputed impiety, in bringing them out to open day, stops short in his narration, and breaks out into this solemn apology,

Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque
 silentes;

Et Chaos & Phlegethon loca nocte silentia late,
 Sit mihi fas audita loqui: sit numine vestro
 Pandere res alta terra & caligineertas—

And here let me observe, that this pretended apprehension of the Ancients, that they were doing an

^g Σχεδὸν ἔν ὁμοίον, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα, ἢ Βάρβαρον μυῖσσαι παραδιδὼς εἰς μουσικόν τινα οἶκον, ὑπερφυῖ καλλεῖ καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὁρώμενα μουσικὰ διαμάλα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκρόντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωλὸς ἐναλλάξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων, ἄλλων τε μυρίων γινομένων. Orat.

unlawful thing when they revealed the secrets of the *Realm of Dis*, arose from the custom of the Mysteries, where these sights were represented. For they had none of these scruples where they speak of the Habitations of the Celestial Gods. Claudian, who (as we have observed) professes openly to treat of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, at a time when they were in little veneration, yet, in compliance to old custom, excuses his undertaking in the same manner :

Dii, quibus in numerum, &c.
 Vos mihi sacrarum penetralia pandite rerum,
 Et vestri secreta poli, qua lampade Ditem
 Flexit Amor, quo ducta ferox Proserpina raptu
 Possedit dotale Chaos ; quantasque per oras
 Sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu ;
 Unde datæ populis leges, &, glande relictæ,
 Cesserit inventis Dodonia quercus aristis ^h.

Had the revealing the *Mysteries* been as penal at Rome, as it was in Greece, Virgil had never ventured on this part of his poem. But yet it was esteemed impious ⁱ ; and what is more, it was infamous.

——vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
 Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
 Sit trabibus fragilemque mecum
 Solvat phaselum— Hor.

He therefore does it covertly ; and makes this apology to such as saw into his meaning.

The Hero and his Guide now enter on their journey :

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbras :
 Perque domos Ditis vacuas, & inania regna.

^h *De raptu Proserpinæ*, lib. i. sub init.

ⁱ Athenis initiatus [Augustus] cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Cereris cognosceret, & quædam secretoria proponerentur, dimisso concilio & corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. Sueton. lib. ii. *Octav. Aug.* cap. 93.

Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis : ubi cœlum condidit umbra
Jupiter, & rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

This description will receive much light from a passage in Lucian's dialogue of *the Tyrant*. As a company made up of every condition of life, are voyaging together to the other world, Mycillus breaks out, and says ; “ Bless us ! how dark it is ? What is
“ become of the fair Megillus ? In this situation,
“ who can tell, whether Simmiche or Phryne be
“ the handsomer ? every thing is alike, and of one
“ colour ; there is no room for comparing Beauties.
“ My old cloak, which but now presented to your
“ eyes so irregular a figure, is become as honourable
“ a wear as his Majesty's purple. They are, indeed,
“ both vanished ^k, and retired together under the
“ same cover. But my friend, the Cynic, where are
“ You ! give me your hand : *you are initiated in the*
“ *ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES. Tell me now, do you not*
“ *think this very like the blind march the good company*
“ *make there ?* CY. *Oh extremely : and see, here comes*
“ *one of the Furies, as I guess by her equipage ; her*
“ *torch, and her terrible looks* ^l.”

^k The original has a peculiar elegance. ἈΦΑΝΗ γὰρ ἄμφω, &c. alludes to the ancient Greek notions concerning the *first Matter*, which they called ἀφανής, *invisible*, as being without the qualities of *form* and *colour*. The investing Matter with these qualities, was the production of bodies, the τὰ φαινόμενα : and their dissolution, a return to a state of *invisibility*. — εἰς ἈΦΑΝΕΣ χωρεῖ τὰ διαλυόμενα, as the pretended Merc. Trismag. has it, cap. xi. *Matter*, in this state of invisibility, was, by the earlier Greeks, called ἈΔΗΣ. Afterwards, the state itself was so called ; and at length it came to signify the abode of departed spirits.

^l MI. Ἡράκλεις τῷ Ζῳφῷ πῶς νῦν ὁ καλὸς Μέγιλλος, ἢ τῷ διαγνώ τις ἐπισταθεῖ καλλίων Φρύνης Σιμμίχη, πάντα γὰρ ἴσα, καὶ ὁμόχροα, καὶ ἔδεν ἔτε καλόν, ἔτε καλλίον· ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸ τριδώνιον, πρότερον τέως ἄμορφον εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἰσότημον γίγνεται τῇ πορφύρεϊ τῷ βασιλέως· ἀφανῆ γὰρ ἄμφω, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ σκότῳ καὶ αὐτοδεδυκότα. Κυνίσκε, σὺ δὲ πῶς πότε ἄρα ὦν τυγχάνεις ; — ἐπαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν· εἰπέ μοι, ἐτελέσθης γὰρ, ὦ Κυνίσκε, τὰ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ, ἔχῃ ΟΜΟΙΑ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐνθαδὲ σοι δοκεῖ ; KYN. εὖ λέγεις· ἰδὲ ἔν προσέρχεται δαδευχῆσά τις, φοβερόν τι, καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν προσδoléπασα· ἢ ὄρα πῶς Ἐρινὺς ἐστίν ; Luciani *Cataphu*.

The Sibyl, on their approach to the mouth of the cave, had advised Æneas to summon up all his courage, as being to undergo the severest trial,

Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum :

Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.

These trials were of two sorts: the encountering *real* labours and difficulties; and the being exposed to *imaginary and false* terrors. This latter was objected to all the Initiated in general: the other was reserved for Chiefs and Leaders. On which account, Virgil describes them both, in their order; as they were both to be undergone by his Hero. The real labours are figured under these words,

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus

Orci,

Luctus & ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ:

Pallentesque habitant Morbi^m, tristisque Senectus.

Et metus, & malesuada Fames, & turpis Egestas;

Terribiles visu formæ; Lethumque, Labosque:

Tum consanguineus Lethi Sopor, & mala mentis

Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,

Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, & Discordia demens——

To understand the force of this description, it will be necessary to transcribe the account the ancients have left us of the probationary trials in the *Mysteries* of MITHRAS, whose participation was more particularly aspired to, by Chiefs and Leaders of armies; whence these Initiated were commonly called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRASⁿ. “No one, says “Nonnus, could be initiated into these *Mysteries* [of

^m Quint. is mistaken in supposing pallentesque, &c. a *metonymy*. Had this been the description of an *Hospital* he had been right: For then, indeed, in these words, the *cause* would have been put for the *effect*.

ⁿ Erubescite, Romani commilitones ejus, jam non ab ipso judicandi, sed ab aliquo MITHRÆ MILITE: qui cum initiatur in speculæo, &c. Tertull. *De corona militis*.

“ Mithras] till he had passed gradually through the
 “ probationary labours [by which he was to acquire
 “ a certain *apathe* and sanctity.] There were eighty
 “ degrees of these labours, from less to greater: and
 “ when the aspirant has gone through them all, he
 “ is initiated. These labours are,—to pass through
 “ fire, to endure cold, hunger, and thirst, to under-
 “ go much journeyings; and, in a word, every toil
 “ of this nature °.”

The second sort of trial were the *panic terrors*, of the *Mysteries*; and these, Virgil represents next. And to distinguish them from the figurative description of the *real labours* preceding, he separates the two accounts by that fine circumstance of the *tree of dreams*, which introduces the second sort.

In medio ramos annosaque brachia pandit

Ulmus opaca, ingens: quam sedem somnia vulgo

Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent.

Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum,

Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque biformes,

Et centum geminus Briareus & bellua Lernæ;

Horrendum stridens, flammisque, armata Chi-
 mæra:

Gorgones, Harpyæque, & forma tricorporis um-
 bræ.

These *terribiles visu formæ* are the same which *Pletho*, in the place quoted above, calls ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφᾶς φάσματά, as they were seen in the entrance of the *Mysteries*; and which *Celsus* tells us, were like-

° ὃ δὲ δύναται ἐν τις εἰς αὐτὸν τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῶν βαθμῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι. βαθμοὶ δὲ εἰσι κολάσεων τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπόβασιν καὶ ἀνάβασιν. κολάζονται γὰρ πρῶτον τὰς ἐλαφροτέρας, εἶτα τὰς δρασιμωτέρας. καὶ εἴθ' ἔτι μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων, τότε τελεῖται ὁ τελεσμενός. αἱ δὲ κολάσεις εἰσὶ τὸ διὰ πυρὸς παρελθεῖν, τὸ διὰ κρύου, διὰ πείνης καὶ διψῆς, διὰ ὁδοιπορίας πολλῆς, καὶ ἀπλοῦς διὰ πασῶν τῶν τοιούτων. Nonnus, in *Secundam Nazianz. Steleuticam*. And again he says, ἔδειξεν δὲ δύναται τελεῖσθαι τὰς τῷ Μίθρῳ τελετάς, εἰ μὴ διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι, καὶ δείξει ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθῆναι τὴν καὶ ὅσιον, &c.

wife presented in the Bacchic rites ; τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς Τελεταῖς τὰ Φάσματα καὶ δείματα πρὸς αὐτῷ π.

But it is reasonable to suppose, that though these things had the use here assigned to them, it was some circumstance in the recondite physiology of the East, which preferred them to this station. We are to consider then this dark entrance into the *Mysteries*, as a representation of the CHAOS, thus described.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,

Perque domos Ditis *vacuas & inania* regna.

And amongst the several Powers invoked by the Poet, at his entrance on this scene, CHAOS is one.

Dî, quibus imperium est animorum umbræque
filentes :

Et CHAOS & Phlegethon, *loca nocte tacentia late.*

Now a fragment of Berofus, preserved by George Syncellus, describes the ancient CHAOS, according to the physiology of the Chaldeans, in this manner,—

“ There was a time, they say, when all was water
“ and darkness. And these gave birth and habita-
“ tion to MONSTROUS ANIMALS OF MIXED FORMS
“ AND SPECIES. For there were men with two
“ wings, others with four, and some again with
“ double faces.—Some had the horns of goats, some
“ their legs, and some the legs of horses; others had
“ the hind-parts of horses, and the fore-parts of men,
“ like the hippocentaurs. There were bulls with hu-
“ man heads, dogs with four bodies ending in fishes,
“ horses with dogs heads; *and men, and other crea-*
“ *tures with the heads and bodies of horses, and with*
“ *the tails of fishes.* And a number of animals,
“ whose bodies were a MONSTROUS COMPOUND of
“ the dissimilar parts of beasts of various kinds.
“ Together with these, were fishes, reptiles, serpents,
“ and other creatures, which, by a reciprocal transf-

p Origen. *Contra Gels.* lib. iv. p. 167.

“ lation of the parts to one another, became all por-
 “ tentously deformed : the pictures and representa-
 “ tions of which were hung up in the temple of Be-
 “ lus. A woman ruled over the whole, whose name
 “ was Omoroca, in the Chaldee tongue Thalath,
 “ which, in greek, signifies the Sea ; and, (on ac-
 “ count of their powerful connexion) the Moon⁹.”
 This account seems to have been exactly copied in
 the *Mysteries*, as appears from the description of the
 poet,

Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum
 Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque biformes,
 Et centum geminus Briareus, & belluæ Lernæ
 Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimæra:
 Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma TRICORPORIS
 umbræ ;

The CANINE figures have a considerable station in
 this region of monsters: And he tells us,

visæque CANES ululare per umbram :

which Pletho explains in his scholia on the magic
 oracles of Zoroaster. “ It is the custom, in the
 “ celebration of the *Mysteries*, to present before ma-
 “ ny of the Initiated, phantasms of a CANINE fi-

⁹ Γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν, σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τέτοις
 ζῶα τερατώδη, καὶ εἰδιφνεῖς τὰς ιδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. Ἀνθρώπους γὰρ
 διπλέρεις γεννηθῆναι, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τετραπλέρεις, καὶ διπροσώπους. — τὰς μὲν αἰγῶν
 σκέλη καὶ κέρατα ἔχοντας, τὰς δὲ ἵπποπόδας, τὰς δὲ τὰ ὀπίσω μὲν μέρη ἵπ-
 πων, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἵπποκενταύρους τὴν ιδέαν εἶναι. Σωογο-
 νηθῆναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους, ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὰς ἔχοντας. καὶ κυνας τετρασωμάτους
 ὥσπερ ἰχθύος ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν ἔχοντας, καὶ ἵππους κυνοκεφαλῆς, καὶ ἀνθρώ-
 πους, καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα, κεφαλὰς μὲν καὶ σώματα ἵππων ἔχοντα, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων καὶ
 ἄλλα δὲ ζῶα παντοδαπῶν θηρίων μορφὰς ἔχοντα. Πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, ἰχθύας,
 καὶ ἐρπετὰ, καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα πλείονα θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα τὰς
 ὀφείας ἀλλήλων ἔχοντα. ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἐν τῷ τῷ Βήλῳ ναῶν ἀνάκειται.
 Ἀρχεῖν δὲ τῶν πάντων γυναικῶν, ἥ ὄνομα Ὀμορωπά. Εἶναι δὲ τὸτο Χαλ-
 δαῖσι μὲν Θαλάθ, ἑλλήνισι δὲ μεθερμηνεύεται θάλασσα, καὶ δὲ ἰσόψηφον
 Σελήνην. Georg. Syncel. Chronogr.

“ gure,

“gure, and other monstrous shapes and appearances.”

The woman, whose name *Thalath* coincides with that of the *Moon*, was the *Hecate* of the Greeks, who is invoked by *Æneas* on this occasion.

Voce vocans HECATEN *cælo Ereboque* potentem. Hence terrifying visions were called *Hecatea*. The reason why *Hecate*, or the *Moon*, came to be one of the Governesses in these rites, was, because some had placed *Elysium* in the *Moon*; the *Elysian* fields being from thence called the *fields of Hecate*. The ancients called *Hecate*, *Diva TRIFORMIS*. And *Scaliger* observes that this word *Thalath*, which *Syncellus*, or *Berosus*, says, was equivalent to the *Moon*, signifies *TRIA*.

And now we soon find the Hero in a fright,

Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert.

With these affections the Ancients represent the *Initiated* as possessed on his first entrance into these holy Rites, “Entering now into the mystic dome (says Themistius) he is filled with horror and amazement. He is seized with solicitude, and a total perplexity: he is unable to move a step forward, and at a loss to find the entrance to that road which is to lead him to the place he aspires to. Till the Prophet [the vates] or Conductor, laying open the vestibule of the temple”——To the same purpose *Proclus*: “——As in the most holy *Mysteries*, before the scene of the mystic visions,

* Εἶωθε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τελευμένων φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς τελεὰς κυνώδη τινα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφαὶς φάσματα.

* Schol. *Apollon. Argon.* l. iii. v. 859.

* Ὁ μὲν ἄρτι προσίων τοῖς ἀδύτοις, φρίκης τε ἀνεπίμπλατο καὶ ἰλίγῃ ἀδημονία τε εἶχετο καὶ ἀπορία συμπάση, εὐδὲ ἔχνης λαβέσθαι οἷός τε ᾖν, ἔτε ἀρχῆς ἡσινούσῃ ἐπιδράξασθαι εἰσω φερέσης ὁπότε δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖ ἀναπελάσας τὰ προπύλαια τῷ νεώ. *Orat. in Patrem.*

“there is a terror infused over the minds of the Initiates, so,” &c.^u

The adventurers come now to the banks of Cocytus. Æneas is surprized at the crowd of ghosts which hover round it, and appear impatient for a passage. His Guide tells him they are those who have not had the rites of sepulture performed to their manes, and so are doomed to wander up and down for a hundred years, before they be permitted to cross the river.

Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos, volitantq; hæc litora circum.
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.

We are not to think this old notion took its rise from the vulgar superstition. It was one of the wisest contrivances of ancient politics; and came originally from Egypt, the fountain-head of legislation. Those profound masters of wisdom, in projecting for the common good, found nothing would more contribute to the safety of their fellow citizens than the public and solemn interment of the dead: as without this provision, private murders might be easily and securely committed. They therefore introduced the custom of pompous funeral rites: and, as Herodotus and Diodorus tell us, were of all people the most circumstantially ceremonious in the observance of them. To secure these by the force of Religion, as well as civil custom, they taught, that the deceased could not retire to a place of rest, till these rites were performed. The notion spread so wide, and fixed its roots so deep, that the substance of the superstition remains, even to this day, in most civilized countries. By so effectual a method did

^u “Ὅσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιαλαῖταις τελεαῖς πρὸ τῶν μουσικῶν θεαμάτων ἐκ-
πληξίς τῶν μυθμένων, ἔγω.—In Plat. *Theol.* lib. iii. cap. 18.

the Legislature gain its end, the security of the citizen. There is a circumstance in classical antiquity, which will sufficiently inform us of how great moment these rites were esteemed. HOMER, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, are confessed to be the greatest masters of their art, and to have given us the best models of it. Yet, in the judgment of modern critics, the funeral rites for Patroclus, in the Iliad, and for Ajax and Polynices, in the Ajax and the Phœnicians, are a vicious continuation of the story, which violates the *unity of the action*. But they did not consider, that funeral rites were anciently deemed an inseparable part of the Hero's story: And therefore those great masters of design, could not understand the action to be complete, till that important office to the dead was dispatched^w. Nay so dreadful was the apprehension of the want of *funeral Rites*, that the Historians tell us, it was one of the principal causes of the Spartan bashfulness, in that War in which *Tyrtæus* was employed to restore them to their ancient Spirit. Who when he had dissipated this superstitious terror by the magic of his martial numbers, they rushed on to the charge with a resolution to conquer or to die.

But the Egyptian Sage found, afterwards, another use in this opinion; and by artfully turning it to a punishment on insolvent debtors, strengthened public credit, to the great advantage of commerce, and consequently of civil community. For, instead of that general custom of modern barbarians to bury insolvents alive, this polite and humane people had a law of greater efficacy, which denied burial to

^w Προσεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τέτρω τῷ νόμῳ τάνδε, τὸν δίδόντα τὸ χρέος, καὶ ἀπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τε λαμβάνουσι δόξης· τῷ δὲ ὑπολιθέντι τέτο τοῦ ἐνεχυροῦ τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην, μὴ βέλομένῳ ἀποδῆναι τὸ χρέος, μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρὶώ τάφῳ, μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸν ἐωυτῷ ἀπογεγόμενον θαψαι. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 136.

them when dead. And here the learned Marsham seems to be mistaken, when he supposes, that the Grecian opinion of the wandering of unburied ghosts arose from this interdiction of sepulchral rites^x. On the contrary it appears, that the law was founded on the opinion, originally Egyptian, and not the opinion on the law; for the law had no other sanction than the opinion.

In a word, had not our poet conceived it a matter of much importance, he had hardly dwelt so long upon it, or returned again to it^y, or laid so much stress on it, or made his hero so attentively consider it:

Constitit Anchisa fatus, & vestigia pressit,
MULTA PUTANS.

But having added

—Sortemque animo miseratus *iniquam*;

and Servius commented, “*Iniqua enim fors est puniri propter alterius negligentiam: nec enim quis culpa sua caret sepulchro;*” Mr. Bayle cries out^z, “What injustice is this! was it the fault of these souls, that their bodies were not interred?” But neither of them knowing the origin of this opinion, nor seeing its use, the latter ascribes *that* to the blindness of Religion, which was the issue of wise Policy. Virgil, by his *fors iniqua*, means no more than that in this, as well as in several other civil institutions, *a public benefit was often a private injury*.

The next thing observable is the ferry-man, Charon; and he, the learned well know, was a man of this world, an Egyptian of a well-known Character. This People, like the rest of mankind, in their de-

^x Ab interdictæ apud Ægyptios sepulturæ pœnâ, inolevit apud Græcos opinio insepulcorum corporum animas à Charonte non esse admittas. *Canon Chronicus, Seculum xi. sec. 3.*

^y V. 373. & seq.

^z *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Provincial, p. iii. cap. 22.*

scriptions of the other world, used to copy from something they were well acquainted with in this. In their funeral rites, which, as we observed, was a matter of greater moment with them than with any other people, they used to carry their dead over the Nile, and through the marsh of Acherusia, and there put them into subterraneous caverns; the ferry-man employed in this business being, in their language, called Charon. Now in their *Mysteries*, the description of the passage into the other world was borrowed, as was natural, from the circumstances of their funeral rites. So that the Charon *below* might very well refuse to charge his Boat with those whom his namesake *above* had not admitted. And it might be easily proved, if there was occasion, that the Egyptians themselves transferred these realities into the ΜΥΘΟΣ, and not the Greeks, as later writers generally imagine.

Charon is appeased at the sight of the *golden bough*:

Ille admirans venerabile donum

Fatalis virgæ, LONGO POST TEMPORE visum.

But it is represented as the passport of all the ancient Heroes who had descended into hell; how then could it be said to be *longo post tempore visum*, Æneas being so near the times of those Heroes? To explain this, we must have in mind what hath been said above of a perfect Lawgiver's being held out in Æneas, and of Augustus's being delineated in the Trojan chief. So that here Virgil is pointing to his Master; and what he would insinuate, is, that the Roman emperor, initiated in the Eleusinian rites, should, in a later age, rival the fame of the first Grecian Lawgivers.

But Æneas hath now crossed the river, and is come into the proper regions of the Dead. The first Apparition that occurs is the dog Cerberus:

Hæc

Hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.

This is plainly one of the phantoms of the *Mysteries*, which Pletho tells us above, was in the shape of a dog, κυνώδη τινα. And in the fable of Hercules's descent into hell, which, we have shewn, signified no more than his Initiation into the *Mysteries*, it is said to have been, amongst other things, for fetching up the dog Cerberus.

The Prophetess, to appease his rage, gives him a medicated cake, which casts him into a slumber :

Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

In the *Mysteries* of Trophonius (who was said to be nursed by Ceres^a, that is, as I understand it, to derive his rites from the Eleusinian) the Initiated carried the same sort of medicated Cakes to appease the serpents he met with in his passage^b. Tertullian, who gives all *Mysteries* to the devil; and very equitably, as the good man makes *him* the author of all that is done there, mentions the offering up of these cakes, *celebrat et panis oblationem*^c. This in question was of poppy-seed, made up with honey; and so I understand *medicatis frugibus*, here, on the authority of the poet himself, who, in the fourth book, makes the priestess of Venus prepare the same treat for the dragon who guarded the Hesperian fruit :

Spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver.

Honey, as we have shewn above, was sacred to Proserpine, who on that account was called Μελιτώδης;

^a Δήμητρι—τὴν Τροφώνιαν εἶναι τροφόν. Pausan. Bæot. c. 39.

^b Μελιτῶνιδας ἐπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, μελιτῶνιδα ἐσπείων. —Philef. Vit. Apoll. l. viii. c. 15.

^c De præscr. adver. hæret.

and the *poppy* was consecrated to Ceres: Cereale Papaver, says Virgil; on which words Servius thus comments: “Vel quod est usui, sicut frumentum, “vel quo Ceres usa est ad oblivionem doloris; nam “ob raptum Proserpinæ vigiliis defatigata, gustato “eo acta est in soporem^d.”

But, without doubt, the images, which the spiced juice of poppy presents to the fancy, was one reason why this drug had a place in the ceremonial of the *SHews*: not improbably, it might be given to some at least of the *Initiated*, to aid the impression of those mystic visions which passed before them. For that something like this was done, that is, giving medicated drugs to the Aspirants, we are informed by Plutarch; who speaks of a shrub called *Leucophyllus* used in the celebration of the *Mysteries* of *Hecate*, which drives men into a kind of frenzy, and makes them confess all the wickedness they had done or intended. And *confession* was one necessary preparative for initiation.

The regions, according to Virgil's topography, are divided into three parts: 1. PURGATORY. 2. TARTARUS. 3. ELYSIUM. For Deiphobus (in the first) says,

Discedam, EXPLEBO numerum, reddarque tenebris^e.

And, in the second, it is said of Theseus,

Sedet, ÆTERNUMQUE sedebit
Infelix Theseus.—

The *Mysteries* divided them in the same manner. So Plato, in the passage^f quoted above (where he speaks of what was taught in the *Mysteries*) talks of souls sticking fast in mire and filth, and remaining

^d Ad lib. i. *Georg.* v. 212.

^e But the nature and end of this purgatory the poet describes at large, from v. 736, to v. 745.

^f See note (a) p. 243.

in darkness, till a long series of years had purged and purified them; and Celsus, in *Origen*^s, says, that the *Mysteries* taught the doctrine of eternal punishments.

Of all the three States this of Tartarus only was *eternal*. There was, indeed, another, in the ancient pagan theology, which had the same relation to Elysium, that Tartarus had to Purgatory, the extreme of reward, as Tartarus of punishment. But then this state was not in the infernal regions, but in Heaven. Neither was it the lot of common Men, but reserved for *heroes* and *dæmons*; Beings of a superior order, such as Hercules, Bacchus, &c. who became Gods on their admission into Heaven, where *eternity* was the consequence of their deification.

Cicero distinguishes the two orders of souls, according to the vulgar Theology, in this manner. “Quid autem ex hominum genere consecratos, sicut
“Herculem & cæteros coli lex jubet, indicat *omni-*
“*um* quidem *animos immortales* esse; FORTIUM BO-
“NORUMQUE DIVINOS^h.”

And here it is to our purpose to observe, that the Virtues and Vices, which stock these three Divisions with inhabitants, are such as more immediately affect Society. A plain proof that the poet followed the views of the Legislator, the institutor of the *Mysteries*.

PURGATORY, the first division, is inhabited by suicides, extravagant lovers, and ambitious warriors: And, in a word, by all those who had indulged the violence of their passions; which made them rather wretched than wicked. It is remarkable that amongst these we find one of the *Initiated*:

Cererique sacrum Polybcæten.

This was agreeable to the public doctrine of the *Mysteries*, which taught, that initiation with virtue

^s See note (1) p. 257.

^h *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

procured men great advantages over others, in a future state; but that without virtue, it was of no avail.

Of all these disorders, the poet hath more distinctly marked out the misery of SUICIDE.

Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
Infantes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
Projecere animas. Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores!

Here he keeps close to the mysteries; which not only forbid *suicide*, but taught on what account it was criminal. “That which is said in the MYSTERIES (says Plato) concerning these matters of man’s being placed in a certain watch or station, which it is unlawful to fly from, or forsake, is a profound doctrine, and not easily fathomedⁱ.”

Infantes,

ⁱ Ὁ μὲν ἔν ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΙΣ λεγόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐν τινὶ Φερεράῳ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ εἰ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν, εἰδ’ ἀποδιδράσκειν, μεγάς τε τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ εἰ ῥάδιον διδεῖν. *Phæd.* p. 62. Ser. ed. tom. i. The very learned Mr. Dacier translates ἐν ἀπορρήτοις, *dans les Mysteres*; and this agreeably to his knowledge of antiquity. For ἀπόρρητος was used by the ancients, to signify not only the grand secret taught in the *Mysteries*, but the *Mysteries* themselves; as appears from innumerable places in their writings. Yet the celebrated French translator of Puffendorf’s *Law of nature and nations*, lib. ii. cap. 4. § 19. note (1), accuses him of not understanding his author: “Mr. Dacier fait dire à Platon que l’on tenoit tous les jours ces discours au peuple dans les ceremonies & dans les Mysteres. Il seroit à souhaiter qu’il eût allégué quelque autorité pour etablir un fait si remarquable. Mais il s’agit ici manifestement des instructions secrètes que les Pythagoriciens donnoient à leurs initiez, & lesquelles ils decouvroient les raisons les plus abstruses, & les plus particuliers des dogmes de leur philosophie. Ces instructions cachées s’appelloient ἀπόρρητα—Ce que Platon dit un peu auparavant de Philolaüs, philosophe Pythagoricien, ne permet pas de douter que la raison, qu’il rapporte ici comme trop abstruse & difficile à comprendre, ne soit celle que donnoient les Pythagoriciens.” He says, *it were to be wished Dacier had some authority for so remarkable a fact.* He hath this very passage, which is sufficient; for the word ἀπόρρητος can mean no other than the *Mysteries*. But
those

Infantes, says the Poet, to distinguish Suicides (properly so called) from those whom the Laws condemned to be their own Executioners: for this inhuman treatment was amongst the capital inflictions, in the Criminal Code of the Ancients.

Hitherto all goes well. But what must we say to the poet's putting *new-born infants*, and *men falsely condemned*, into his purgatory? For though the *faith and inquisition* of modern Rome send many of both sorts into a place of punishment, yet the genius of ancient paganism had a gentler aspect. It is, indeed,

those who want further authority, may have enough of it, in the nature and end of the *Mysteries*, as explained above.—He says, “It is evident, Plato is here talking of the secret instructions which the Pythagoreans gave to their Initiated, in which they discovered their most abstruse and particular doctrines.” This cannot be so, for a very plain reason. The philosophy of the Pythagoreans, like that of the other sects, was divided into the *exoteric* and *esoteric*; the *open*, taught to all; and the *secret*, taught to a select number. But the *impiety of suicide* was in the first class, as a doctrine serviceable to society: “*Vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio & statione vitæ decedere,*” says Tully, in his book *Of old age*; who, in his *Dream of Scipio*, written in the *exoteric* way, condemns *suicide* for the very same reason: but in an epistle to a particular friend, which certainly was of the *esoteric* kind, he approves of it; “*Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, foede perierunt. At Cato PRÆCLARE. Jam istuc quidem, cum volemus, licebit.*” lib. ix. ep. 18. It could not be, therefore, that the *impiety of suicide* should be reckoned amongst the ἀπορρητά of philosophy, since it was one of their *popular* doctrines. But this will be fuller seen, when we come to speak of the philosophers, in the next book. Mr. Barbeyrac concludes, that “as Plato had spoken of Philolaus a little before, it cannot be doubted but that he speaks of the reason against *suicide*, as a doctrine of the Pythagorean philosophy.” What has been said above, utterly excludes this interpretation. But though it did not, there is nothing in the context which shews, Plato thought of Philolaus in this place. It is allowed, this was a doctrine of the Pythagoric school, though not of the *esoteric* kind. The *Mysteries*, and that School, held a number of things in common; this has been shewn, in part, already: and when we come to speak of Pythagoras, it will be seen how it happened.

difficult

difficult to tell what these inmates have to do here. Let us consider the case of the *infants*; and if we find it can only be cleared up by the general view of things here given, this will be considered as another argument for the truth of our interpretation of the DESCENT.

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo:
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes, & ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies, & funere merfit acerbo.

These appear to have been the *cries and lamentings* that, Proclus tells us, were heard in the Mysteries^k. So that we only want to know the original of so extraordinary a circumstance. Which, I take, to have been just such another provision of the Lawgiver for the security of INFANCY, as that about *funeral rites* was for the ADULT. For nothing could more engage Parents in the care and preservation of their young, than so terrible a doctrine. Nor are we to imagine, that their natural fondness needed no reinforcement, or support: for that most degenerate and horrid practice among the ancients, of EXPOSING INFANTS, was universal^l; and had almost erased mor-

^k Καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τὰς μυσικὰς ὀφηνοῦς μυσικῶς παρειλήφαιμεν. In *Comment. in Platonis Remp.* lib. x.

^l We may well judge it to be so, when we find it amongst the CHINESE (see *M. Polo.* lib. ii. cap. 26.) and the ARABIANS, the two people least corrupted by foreign manners, and the vicious customs of more civilized nations. The Arabians, particularly, living much in a state of nature, where mens wants are few, and consequently where there is small temptation to this unnatural crime, yet were become so prone to it, that their lawgiver Mahomet found it necessary to exact an oath of the Arabian women, not to destroy their children. The form of this oath is given us by Gagnier, in his notes on Abel-feda's *Life of Mahomet*, and it is in these words; "—Ne deo rem ullam associet; ne furentur; ne fornicentur; NE LIBEROS SUOS OCCIDANT [metu paupertatis uti habetur, *Sar* vi. v. 151.] neque inobedientes sint Apo-
stolo Dei, in eo quod justum est." p. 41. n. (a)

*talit*y from the minds of the best instructed, and *instinct* from the breasts of the most tenderly affected^m. St. Paul seems to have had this in his eye, when he accused the pagan world of being WITHOUT NATURAL AFFECTIONⁿ. It needed therefore the strongest and severest check: and I am well persuaded it occasioned this counterplot of the Magistrate, in order to give instinct fair play, and call back banished nature. Nothing, indeed, could be more worthy of his care: for the destruction of children, as Pericles finely observed of youth, is *like cutting off the spring from the year*. Accordingly we are told by Diodorus, that the Egyptians had a law^o against this un-

^m See what has been further said on this subject B. I. Sect. 4.

ⁿ 1 Cor. i. 31.

^o The Egyptian laws were said to have been of Isis's own appointment. This will shew us with what judgment and address Ovid has told the tale of Lidgus the Cretan, in his *Metamorphosis*; (of the nature and art of which Work more will be observed hereafter.) Lidgus (in the ixth book, fab. 12.) is represented as commanding his pregnant wife, Telethusa, to destroy the expected infant, if it proved a female. Yet is this Cretan thus characterized,

vita fidesque

Inculpata fuit—

in a word, just such another as Terence's man of universal benevolence, (mentioned above) the Author of the famous maxim, *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, and of the very same command of infanticide to his Wife; who for not obeying it is reckoned by him, amongst those, *qui neque jus neque bonum atque æquum sciunt*. Telethusa, however, as common as such a command was, and as indifferent as it was esteemed, is much alarmed with the apprehension of falling into the cruel situation of being obliged to execute it. In this distress Isis appears to her in a dream, promises her assistance, and orders her to deceive her husband, and bring up whatever the Gods should send.

Pone graves curas, mandataque falle mariti;

Nec dubita, cum te partu Lucina levarit,

Tollere quicquid erit—

Ovid's moral of his tale is this, "That Egypt had opposed very wise and humane laws to the horrid practice of INFANTICIDE, now become general, and continuing unchecked by all other civil institutions."

natural

natural practice, which law he numbers amongst the singularities of that highly policied nation. “ They
 “ are obliged (says he) to bring up all their children,
 “ in order to render the country populous; this
 “ being esteemed the best means of making states
 “ flourishing and happy^p.” And Tacitus speaks of the prohibition as no less singular amongst the Jews:
 “ Augendæ multitudini consulitur. Nam & NE-
 “ CARE QUENQUAM EX GNATIS, NEFAS^q.”

Here again Mr. Bayle is much scandalized: “ The
 “ first thing which we meet on the entrance into the
 “ other world, is the station assigned to INFANTS,
 “ who cried and lamented without ceasing; and next
 “ to that, the station of men unjustly condemned to
 “ death. Now what could be more shocking or
 “ scandalous than the punishment of those little crea-
 “ tures, who had yet committed no sin, or of those
 “ persons whose innocence had been oppressed by ca-
 “ lumny^r?” The first difficulty is already cleared
 up: the second shall be considered by and by. But
 it is no wonder Mr. Bayle could not digest this
 doctrine of the *infants*; for I am much mistaken,
 if it did not stick with Plato himself; who, relat-
 ing the *Vision of Erus, the Pamphylian*, concerning
 the distribution of rewards and punishments in ano-
 ther life, when he comes to the condition of in-
 fants, passes it over in these words: — “ But of
 “ children who died in their infancy, he reported

^p Καὶ τὰ γενώμενα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἕνεκα τῆς πολυαν-
 θρωπίας ὡς ταύτης μέγιστα συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας τε
 καὶ πόλεων. Lib. i. *Histor.*

^q Tacit. *Hist.* lib. v.

^r La premiere chose que l'on rencontroit à l'entrée des Enfers,
 étoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessoient de pleurer, &
 puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la mort. Quoi
 de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine de ces petites
 creatures, qui n'avoient encore commis nul péche; ou que la
 peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été opprimée par la calom-
 nie. *Responf. aux Quæst. d'un Prov.* p. 3. cap. xxii.

“certain other things NOT WORTHY TO BE REMEMBERED.” Erus’s account of what he saw in another world, was a summary of what the Egyptians taught in their *Mysteries* concerning that matter. And I make no doubt but the thing *not worthy to be remembered*, was the doctrine of *infants in purgatory*: which appears to have given Plato much scandal, who did not, at that time at least, reflect upon its original and use. But here let us take notice, for the honour of HUMANITY, that while Pagans both old and new could be shocked at this punishment, modern papists, to the eternal disgrace of SUPERSTITION, can condemn unbaptised Infants, without remorse, to infinitely greater.

But now, as to the FALSELY CONDEMNED, we must seek another solution:

Hos juxta, falso damnati crimine mortis;

Nec vero hæc sine forte data, sine judice sedes.

Quæsitur Minos urnam movet: ille silentium

Consiliumque vocat, vitasque & crimina discit.

This designment appears both iniquitous and absurd. The *falsely accused* are not only in a place of punishment, but, being first delivered under this single predicament, they are afterwards distinguished into two sorts; some as blameable, others as innocent. To clear up this confusion, it will be necessary to transcribe an old story, told by Plato, in his *Gorgias*:——“This law, concerning mortals, was enacted in the time of Saturn, and is yet, and ever will be, in force amongst the Gods; that he who had lived a just and pious life, shall, at his death, be carried into the islands of the blessed, and there possess all kinds of happiness, untainted with the evils of mortality: but that he who had

* Τῶν δὲ εὐθὺς γενομένων, καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιάντων περὶ ἄλλα ἔλεγεν ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ. *De rep.* lib. x. p. 615. Serr. edit.

† Servius, on the place, characterizes them in this manner—“qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt.”

“ lived unjustly and impiously, shall be thrust into
 “ a place of punishment, the prison of divine jus-
 “ tice, called Tartarus. Now the judges, with
 “ whom the execution of this law was intrusted,
 “ were, in the time of Saturn, and under the in-
 “ fancy of Jove’s government, *living men, sitting in*
 “ *judgment on the living*; and passing sentence on
 “ them, upon the day of their decease. This gave
 “ occasion to unjust judgments: on which account,
 “ Pluto, and those to whom the care of the happy
 “ islands was committed, went to Jupiter, and told
 “ him, that men came to them *wrongfully judged,*
 “ *both when acquitted, and when condemned.* To
 “ which the Father of the Gods thus replied: I will
 “ put a stop to this evil. These wrong judgments
 “ are partly occasioned by the corporeal covering of
 “ the persons judged; for they are tried while liv-
 “ ing: now many have their corrupt minds hid un-
 “ der a fair outside, adorned with birth and riches;
 “ and, when they come to their trial, have witnesses
 “ at hand, to testify for their good life and conver-
 “ sation; this perverts the process, and blinds the
 “ eyes of justice. Besides, the judges themselves are
 “ encumbered with the same corporeal covering:
 “ and eyes and ears, and an impenetrable tegument
 “ of flesh, hinder the mind from a free exertion of
 “ its faculties. All these (as well their own cover-
 “ ing, as the covering of those they judge) are bars
 “ and obstacles to right judgment. In the first place
 “ then, says he, we are to provide that the fore-
 “ knowledge which they now have of the day of
 “ death, be taken away: and this shall be given in
 “ charge to Prometheus; and then provide, that
 “ they who come to judgment, be quite naked^u:

^u This evidently refers to the old Egyptian custom, when the judges beheld and examined their kings naked; ἔγω κὶ ὁ Ἀρχὼν δικαστὴς ὦν ἐν τοῖς παλαιολέγοις χρόνοις, γυμνὸν ἰθεῶσαι τὸν βασιλέα. Ho-
 rapollinis Hierogl. lib. i. cap. 40.

“ for from henceforth they shall not be tried, till
 “ they come into the other world. And as they are
 “ to be thus stripped, it is but fit their judges should
 “ await them there in the same condition; that, at
 “ the arrival of every new inhabitant, soul may look
 “ on soul, and all family relation, and every worldly
 “ ornament being dropt and left behind, RIGHTE-
 “ OUS JUDGMENT may at length take place. I,
 “ therefore, who foresaw all these things, before you
 “ felt them, have taken care to constitute my own
 “ sons to be the judges: two of them, Minos and
 “ Rhadamanthus, are Asiatics; the third, Æacus,
 “ an European. These, when they die, shall have
 “ their tribunal erected in the shades, *just in that*
 “ part of the highway, where the two roads divide,
 “ the one leading to the happy islands, the other to
 “ Tartarus. Rhadamanthus shall judge the Asiatics,
 “ and Æacus the Europeans; but to Minos I give
 “ the superior authority of hearing appeals, when
 “ any thing obscure or difficult shall perplex the
 “ others’ judgments; that every one may have his
 “ abode assigned him with the utmost equity ^w. ”

The

^w Ἦν ἔν νόμῳ ὁδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ, καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐν
 θεοῖς· τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν
 τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς
 κακῶν· τὸν δὲ αἰδῶς καὶ ἀθέως, εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεώς τε καὶ δίκης δεσμωθήριον,
 ὃ δὲ τάραρον καλεῖσιν, ἰέναι. Τῶν δὲ δικασαὶ ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ, καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ
 τῷ Διὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, ζῶντες ἦσαν ζώντων, ἐκείνη ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες ἢ
 μέλλοιεν τελευτᾶν· κακῶς ἔν αἱ δίκαι ἐκρίνοντο. Ὅτε ἔν Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ἐπι-
 μεληταὶ ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἰόντες, ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Δία, ὅτι φοιτῶν σφὶν
 ἄνθρωποι ἐκατέρωσέ ἀνάξιοι, εἶπεν ἔν ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ (ἔφη) παύσω τῷτο
 γινόμενον· νῦν μὲν γὰρ κακῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γὰρ (ἔφη)
 οἱ κρινόμενοι κρίνονται· ζῶντες γὰρ κρίνονται, Πολλοὶ ἔν ψυχᾷ πονηρὰς
 ἔχοντες, ἡμφιεσμένοι εἰσὶ σώματά τε καλὰ, καὶ γένη καὶ πλάτες· καὶ ἐπειδὰν
 ἢ κτίς ἢ, ἔρχονται αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ μάρτυρες, μαρτυρήσαντες ὡς δικαίως
 βεβιωκασιν. Οἱ ἔν δικασαὶ ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ αἶμα καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἀμπεχόμενοι δικάσῃ, πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα καὶ
 ὅλον τὸ σῶμα προκεκαλυμμένοι· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐπίπροσθεν γίγ-
 νεται, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμφιέσματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων. Πρῶτον μὲν ἔν
 (ἔφη) παυτέον ἐστὶ προειδόμενος αὐτὰς τὸν θάνατον· νῦν γὰρ προΐσασσι τῷτο

μὲν

The matter now begins to clear up; and we see plainly, that the circumstance of the *falsely condemned* alludes to this old fable: so that by *falso damnati crimini mortis* (if it be the true reading) VIRGIL did not mean, as one would suppose, *innocentes additi morti ob injustam calumniam*, but *homines indigne et perperam adjudicati*; not *men falsely condemned*, but *wrongfully judged*, whether to acquittal or conviction; but condemnation being ofteneft the sentence of justice, the greater part is put figuratively for the whole.

He who thinks this too licentious a figure, will perhaps be inclined to believe, that the poet might write

Hos juxta, falso damnati TEMPORE mortis:

which not only points up to the fable, but hints at the original of it; and besides, agrees best with the context. But as the words *tempore mortis* are only to be explained by this passage of Plato, a transcriber might be easily tempted to change them to something more intelligible.

One difficulty only remains; and that, to confess the truth, hath arisen rather from a mistake of Virgil, than of his reader. We find these people yet unjudged, already fixed, with other criminals, in the assigned district of purgatory. But they are

μὲν ἔν κ' δὴ εἶρηται τῷ Προμηθεΐ, ὅπως ἂν παύσῃ αὐτῶν· ἔπειτα γυμνὰς κρίλεον ἀπάντων τέτων· τεθνεώτας γὰρ δεῖ κρίνεσθαι· κ' τὸν κρίλῃν δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεώτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν θεωρῶντα, ἐξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάσθ, ἔρημον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν· καλαλιπὸνλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις ᾖ. Ἐγὼ μὲν ἔν ταῦτα ἐγνωκὼς πρότερον ἢ ὑμεῖς, ἐποίησάμην δικαστὰς ὑμεῖς ἐμαυτῶν· δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Μίνω τε κ' Ραδαμάνθυν· ἕνα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, Αἰακόν. Οὗτοι ἔν ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῷ ὁδῷ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς τάρταρον· κ' τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ραδαμάνθυς κρίνει, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός. Μίνω δὲ πρεσβεῖα δώσω, ἐπιδικάσειν, εἰάν ἢ ἀπόρρητόν τι τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ἵνα ὡς δικαιοσύνη ἡ κρίσις ᾖ περὶ τῆς πορείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Tom. i. p. 523. Serr. Edit,

misplaced, through an oversight of the poet; which had he lived to perfect the *Æneis*, he would probably have corrected: for the fable tells us they should be stationed on the borders of the three divisions, in that part of the high road, which dividing itself in two, leads, the one, to Tartarus, the other to Elysium, thus described by the poet,

Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,

Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub moenia tendit:

Hic iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum

Exercet poenas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

It only remains to consider the origin or moral of the fable; which, I think, was this: it was an Egyptian custom, as we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, for judges to sit on every man's life, at the time of his interment; to examine his past actions, and to condemn and acquit according to the evidence before them. These judges were of the priesthood; and so, it is probable, taught, like the priests of the church of Rome, that their decrees were ratified in the other world. Partiality and corruption would, in time, pervert their decrees; and spite and favour prevail over justice: As this might scandalize the people, it would be found necessary to teach, that the sentence which was to influence every one's final doom, was reserved for a future judicature. However, the Priest took care that all should not go out of his hands; and when he could sit no longer *Judge*, he contrived to find his account in turning *Evidence*; as may be seen by the singular cast of this ancient inscription: "Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex TESTOR honeste hunc vixisse: manes ejus inveniant quietem *."

How much this whole matter needed explaining, we may see by what a fine writer makes of it, in a discourse written to illustrate *Æneas's* descent into hell: "There are three kinds of persons (says he)

* Fabius Celsus *Inscript. Antiq.* lib. iii.

“described

“ described as being situated on the BORDERS ; and
 “ I can give no reason for their being stationed there
 “ in so particular a manner, but because none of
 “ them seem to have had a proper right to a place
 “ among the dead, as not having run out the thread
 “ of their days, and finished the term of life that
 “ had been allotted them upon earth. The first of
 “ these are the souls of infants, who are snatched
 “ away by untimely ends ; the second are of those
 “ who are put to death wrongfully and by an unjust
 “ sentence ; and the third, of those who grew weary
 “ of their lives, and laid violent hands upon them-
 “ selves y.”

After this, follow the episodes of Dido and Deïphobus, in imitation of Homer ; where we find nothing explanatory of the true nature of this episode, but the strange description of Deïphobus ; whose mangled phantom is drawn according to the philosophy of Plato ; which teaches that the dead not only retain all the passions of the mind, but all the marks, and blemishes of the body^z. A wild doctrine which Lucian agreeably rallies in his *Menippus* ; who is made to say, that he saw Socrates in the Shades, busied at his old trade of *Disputation* : but that his legs yet appeared swelled, from the effects of his last deadly potion^a.

Æneas, having passed this first division, comes now on the confines of TARTARUS ; and is instructed in what relates to the crimes and punishments of the inhabitants.

y Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 300, quarto edit. 1721.

z Μαστιγίας αὐ εἴτις ἦν, καὶ ἰχνη εἶχε των πληγῶν ἑλὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἢ ὑπὸ μαστιγῶν ἢ ἄλλων τραυμάτων ζῶν, καὶ τεθνεῶτ^ο τὸ σῶμά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα ἔχον· καλεαγότα εἴτε ἦν μέρη, ἢ διεσραμμένα ζῶντ^ο, καὶ τεθνεῶτ^ο ταῦτα ἐνδὴλα· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ οἱ^ο εἶναι παρεσκευάστο τὸ σῶμα ζῶν, ἐνδὴλα ταῦτα καὶ τελευτήσαντ^ο ἦν πάντα, ἢ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τινὰ χρόνον. Georg. P. 524.

a ἔτι μέντοι ἐπεφύσητο αὐτῷ, καὶ διωδῆκει ἐκ τῆς φαρμακοποσίας τὰ σκέλη.

His guide here more openly declares her office of HIEROPHANT, or interpreter of the *Mysteries*.

Dux inclyte Teucrûm,
Nulli fas casto sceleratum infistere limen :

Sed ME cum lucis HECATE PRÆFECIT *avernis*,
Ipsa Deûm pœnas DOQUIT, perque omnia DUXIT—

It is remarkable, that Æneas is led through the regions of Purgatory and Elysium ; but he only sees the sights of Tartarus at a distance, and this could not well be otherwise in the shews of the *Mysteries*, for very obvious reasons.

The criminals destined to eternal punishment, in this division, are,

1. Those who had *sinned so secretly as to escape the animadversion of the Magistrate* :

Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna:

Castigatque auditque dolos, SUBEGITQUE FATERI

Quæ quis apud superos, FURTO lætatus inani,

Distulit in feram commissa piacula mortem.

And it was principally on account of such crimes that the Lawgiver enforced the doctrine of a future state of punishment. But it is worth while to observe, that, according to the teaching of the *Mysteries*, the RACK TO EXTORT CONFESSION, came originally from THE PLACE OF THE DAMNED, where only it could be equitably applied.

2. Those whose principles dissolve the first bonds of association, and society, the ATHEISTS and *despisers of God and religion*:

Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes.

This was agreeable to the laws of Charondas, who says : “ Be the contempt of the Gods put in the “ number of the most flagitious crimes^b. ” The poet dwells particularly on that species of impiety which affects divine honours :

^b Ἔσω δὲ μέγιστα ἀδικήματα θεῶν καλαφρόνῃσι, apud Stobæi Serm. xlii.

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea poenas,
Dum flammæ Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi.

And this without doubt, was an oblique castigation of the APOTHEOSIS, then beginning to be paid and received at Rome.

3. The *infringers of the duties of IMPERFECT obligation, which civil laws cannot reach*: such as those without natural affection to brothers, duty to parents, protection to clients, or charity to the poor:

Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat;
Pulsatusve parens; & fraus innexa clienti^c;
Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis,
Nec partem posuere suis; quæ maxima turba est.

4. Those pests of public and private peace, the TRAYTOR and the ADULTERER; with all their various spawn, of *perjury* and *incest*.

Quique ob adulterium cæsi, quique arma secuti
Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras—
Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit.

Hic thalamum invasit natæ, vetitosque hymenæos.

It is observable, he does not say, simply, *adulteri*, but *ob adulterium cæsi*; as implying, that the greatest civil punishment pleads for no mitigation of this crime at the bar of divine justice.

5. The INVADERS AND VIOLATORS OF THE HOLY MYSTERIES, held out in the person of Theseus, make the fifth and last class of offenders.

Sedet, æternumque fedebit
Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque^d miserrimus omnes

^c So the law of the *Twelve Tables*: PATRONUS SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.

^d The Phlegyæ here mentioned, I take to be those people of Bœotia spoken of by Pausanias, who attempting to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi, were destroyed by lightening, earthquakes, and pestilence; hence Phlegyæ, I suppose, signified impious, sacrilegious persons in general; and is so to be understood in this place.

Admonet,

Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras:

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEMNERE
DIVOS.

The fable says, that Theseus and his friend Pirithous formed a design to steal Proserpine from hell; but being taken in the fact, Pirithous was thrown to the dog Cerberus, and Theseus kept in chains^c, till he was delivered by Hercules: which without doubt means the death of one, and the imprisonment of the other, for their clandestine intrusion into the *Mysteries*. We have already offered several reasons, to shew that the descent of Theseus into hell, was a *violation of the Mysteries*: to which we may add what the ancients tell us of the duration of his imprisonment, which was four years; the interim between the celebrations of the greater *Mysteries*. So Seneca the tragedian makes him say:

Tandem profugi noctis æternæ plagam,

Vastoque manes carcere umbrantem polum.

Ut vix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem!

Jam QUARTA Eleusis dona Triptolemi fecat,

Paremque toties Libra composuit diem;

Ambiguus ut me fortis ignaræ labor

Detinuit inter mortis & vitæ mala^f.

This may reconcile the contradictory accounts of the fable concerning Theseus; some of which say he was delivered from hell; others, that he was eternally detained there. The *first* relates to the liberty given him by the president of the *Mysteries* at the ensuing celebration: the other, to what the *Mysteries* taught he and all would suffer in the other world for *violating* them. This leads us to a circumstance which will much confirm the general interpretation of this fa-

^c Κατασχεθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, Πειρίθοῦ μὲν ἐβρώθη
τῷ τρικεράῳ τῷ κυνὶ, Θησεύς δ' εἰρκῇ κρατεῖται.

Jo. Tzetzes, C. ii. cap. 51.

^f Hippol.

mous Episode. In Æneas's speech to the Sibyl, Theseus is put amongst those heroes who went to, and returned from, hell:

Quid Thesea magnum,
Quid memorem Alciden? —

But in the place before us he is represented as confined there eternally. Julius Hyginus, in his *Commentaries on Virgil* §, thinks this a gross contradiction; which Virgil would have corrected, had he lived to finish the poem. But can it be supposed, the poet was not aware of this, in two passages so near one another, in the same book? In truth, his employing these differing circumstances, confirms the general interpretation; and the general interpretation helps to reconcile the difference. Æneas wanted to be initiated; and when he speaks to the Sibyl, or *Mystagogue*, he enumerates those heroes who had been initiated before him; that is, such who had seen the *shews* of the *Mysteries*, of which number was Theseus, though he had intruded violently. But when Virgil comes to describe these *Shews*, which were supposed to be a true representation of what was done and suffered in Tartarus, Theseus is put among the *damned*, that being his station in the other world.

This will remind the learned reader of a story told by Livy. “The Athenians (says he) drew upon
“themselves a war with Philip, on a very slight oc-
“casion; and at a time when nothing remained of
“their ancient fortune, but their high spirit. Two
“young Acarnanians, during the days of INITIA-
“TION, themselves *uninitiated*, and ignorant of all
“that related to that secret worship, entered the
“temple of CERES along with the crowd. Their
“discourse soon betrayed them; by making some
“absurd enquiries into the meaning of what they

§ A. Gellii *Noct. Att.* lib. x. cap. 16.

“ saw : so being brought before the President of the
 “ *Mysteries*, although it was evident they had entered
 “ ignorantly and without design, they were put to
 “ death, as guilty of a most abominable crime^h. ”

The office Theseus is put upon, of admonishing his hearers against IMPIETY, could not, sure, be discharged in these *shews* by any one so well, as by him who represented the Violator of them. But the critics, unconscious of any such design, considered the task the poet has imposed on Theseus, of perpetually founding in the ears of the damned, this admonition :

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEM-
 NERE DIVOS,

as a very impertinent employment. For though it was a sentence of great truth and dignity, it was preached to very little purpose amongst those who were never to hope for pardon or remission.

Even the ridiculous Scarron hath not neglected to put it in this absurd lightⁱ : and it must be owned, that, according to the common ideas of Æneas's descent into hell, it can hardly be seen in any other.

But, suppose Virgil to be here relating the admonitory maxims delivered during the celebration of these MYSTIC SHEWS, and nothing could be more just or useful : for then the discourse was addressed to the *vast multitude of living spectators*. Nor is it a mere supposition that such discourses made part of these

^h Contraxerant autem cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquaquam digna causa, dum ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servant. Acarnanes duo juvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris, imprudentes religionis, cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurde quædam percunctantes ; deductique ad antistites templi cum palam esset per errorem ingressos, tanquam ob infandum scelus, interfecti sunt. *Hist. lib. xxxi.*

ⁱ Cette sentence est bonne & belle,
 Mais en Enfer de quoi sert-elle ?

representations. Aristides expressly says ^k, that in no place were more astonishing words pronounced or sung, than in these *Mysteries*. The reason, he tells us, was, that the *sounds* and the *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression on the minds of the Initiated. But, from a passage in Pindar, I conclude, that in these shews (from whence men took their ideas of the infernal regions) it was customary for each offender, as he passed by, in machinery, to make an admonition against his own crime. “It is reported (says Pindar) that Ixion, by
 “the decrees of the Gods, while he is incessantly
 “turning round his rapid wheel, calls out upon
 “MORTALS to this effect, That they should be al-
 “ways at hand to repay a benefactor for the services
 “he had done them ^l.” Where the word BPOTOI, *living men*, seems plainly to shew that the speech was at first made before men in this world.

The poet closes his catalogue of the damned with these words:

Ausi omnes immane nefas, AUSOQUE POTITI.

For the antients thought that an action was sanctified by the success; which they esteemed a mark of the favour and approbation of the Gods,

Victrix Causa Diis PLACUIT, sed victa Catoni.

As this was a very pernicious doctrine, it was necessary to teach, that the imperial villain who trampled on his country, and the baffled plotter who expired on a gibbet, were equally the objects of divine vengeance.

^k Τίνι δ' ἄλλῳ χωρίῳ, ἢ μύθῳ φῆμαι θαυμαστότερα ἐφύμνησαν, ἢ τὰ δρώμενα μείζω ἔσχε τὴν ἐκπληξιν, ἢ μάλλον εἰς ἐφαιμιλλον καλῆσθαι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὰ ὀρώμενα; *Eleus.*

^l Θεῶν δ' ἐφέμιαϊσιν
 Ἰξίονα φανὶ ταῦτα
 Βροτοῖς λέγειν, ἐν περὶ ἑνὶ τροχῷ
 Παντὰ κυλινδόμενον,
 Τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς αἰμοῖδαῖς
 Ἐποιομένους τίνεσθαι.

² *Pyth.*

Æneas

Æneas has now passed *Tartarus*; and here end the LESSER MYSTERIES. Their original explains why this sort of *shews* was exhibited in them. We are told, they were instituted for the sake of Hercules, when about to perform his eleventh labour, of fetching Cerberus from hell^m, and were under the presidency of *Proserpine*ⁿ.

The Hero advances to the borders of ELYSIUM, and here he undergoes the *lustration*:

Occupat Æneas aditum, corpusque recenti
Spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit.

“ Being now about to undergo the lustrations (says Sopater) which immediately precede initiation into the greater Mysteries, they called me happy^o. ”

Accordingly, Æneas now enters on the GREATER MYSTERIES, and comes to the abodes of the blessed:

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas:
Largior hic campos æther, & lumine vestit
Purpureo: solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

These two so different scenes of Tartarus and Elysium explain what Aristides meant, when he called the shews of *Eleusinian Mysteries*, *that most shocking, and, at the same time, most ravishing representation*^p.

The Initiated, who till now only bore the name of Μύσαι, are called ΕΠΟΠΤΑΙ, and this new vision, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ. “ The Αὐτοψία, or the seeing with their

^m οἱ Ἐλευσίνοι ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τὰ μικρὰ ἐποιήσαντο μυστήρια——Ἐμνήθη ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τὰ δὲ αὐτὸν [Ἡρακλέα] λεγόμενα ΜΙΚΡΑ μυστήρια. Tzet. in Lycoph.

ⁿ τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης——Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. secund.

^o Μέλλων δὲ τοῖς καθαρσίοις, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελείης, ἐνὺψχάνειν, ἐκάλουν εὐδαίμονα ἑμαυτὸν. In Divis. Quæst.

^p τῆτον Φρικαδέσσιόν τε καὶ Φαιδρόσιον. Eleus.

“own eyes (says Pfellus) is when he who is initiated
“beholds the divine lights⁹.”

In these very circumstances Themistius describes the Initiated, when just entered upon this scene. “It
“being thoroughly purified, he now discloses to the
“Initiated, a region^r all over illuminated, and shin-
“ing with a divine splendor. The cloud and thick
“darkness are dispersed^s; and the mind emerges, as

⁹ Αὐτοψία ἐστίν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ὁ τελευτῶν τὰ θεῖα φῶτα ὁρᾷ. In Schol. in Orac. Zoroast.

^r This which was *all over illuminated*, and which the priest had *thoroughly purified*, was ἀγαλμα, an image. The reason of transferring what is said of the illumination of the *image*, to the illumination of the region, is, because this image represented the appearances of the divine Being, in one large, uniform, extensive light. Thus Jamblichus *De mysteriis*: Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα τῶν αὐτοφαι-
νῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ λόγος ἀφορισόμεθα· ἕκῃ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ΑΥ-
ΤΟΨΙΑΙΣ, ἐνεργέστερα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁράται τὰ θεάματα, ἀκρι-
βῶς τε διαλάμπει, καὶ διηρθρωμένα λαμπρῶς ἐκφαίνεσθαι.—And again,
Ὡσαύτως τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΩΤΟΣ· τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ φῶτος
πλέον ἀσφάπτει—τὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν πῦρ, αἶτομον, ἀφθελόν ἐκλάμπει. καὶ
πληροῖ τὰ ὅλα βάθῃ τῷ κόσμῳ πυρίως, ἀλλ’ ἔπερικοσμίως. § ii. cap.
4. He says, too, that it was *without figure*, ψυχῆς δὲ τῆς μὲν ὅλης,
καὶ ἐν ὅδῃ τῶν κατὰ μέρος εἶδει κατεχομένης πῦρ ὁράται ἀνείδεον—cap. 7.
To this image, the following lines in the *Oracles of Zoroaster* al-
lude:

Μὴ φύσεως καλέσης ΑΥΤΟΠΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ,

Οὐ γὰρ χρεὶ κείνης σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ.

“Invoke not the self conspicuous image of nature, for thou must
“not behold these things before thy body be purified by initia-
“tion.” This αὐτοπτον ἀγαλμα was only a diffusive shining light,
as the name partly declares, thus described presently after, in the
same *Oracles*:

Ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐίερον πῦρ,

Λαμπρόμενον σκιρτήδων ὅλα κατὰ βένθεα κόσμου,

Κλυθεὶ πυρὸς φωνῇ.

And the *sight* of this divine splendor was what the *Mysteries* called, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ.

^s Pletho tells us with what these clouds were accompanied, viz. thunder and lightning, and other meteoric appearances. Τὰ δὲ
τελευτένοια φαινόμενα, κεραυνοὶ, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο, σύμβολα ἄλλως
ἐστίν, ἢ θεῶν τίς φύσις. In Schol. ad Orac. Mag. Zor. He says they
were symbols, but not of the nature of the deity: and this was
true; for the symbol of this Nature was the αὐτοπτον ἀγαλμα
which followed: Hence, as we see above, it was *without
figure*.

“ it were, into day, full of light and chearfulness, as
 “ before, of disconsolate obscurity ‘.”

Let me observe, that the lines,

Largior hic campos æther, & lumine vestit

Purpureo : SOLEMQUE suum, sua sidera norunt,

are in the very language of those, who profess to tell us what they saw at their *initiation into the greater Mysteries*. “ Nocte media vidi SOLEM candido coruscantem lumine “,” says Apuleius on that occasion: for *candido* and *purpureo lumine* signify the very same thing.

Here Virgil, by leaving his Master, and copying the amiable paintings of Elysium as they were represented in the *Mysteries*, hath artfully avoided a fault, too justly objected to Homer, of giving so dark and joyless a landscape of the *fortunata nemora*, as could raise no desire or appetite for them: his favourite Hero himself, who inhabited them, telling Ulysses, that he had rather be a day-labourer above, than command in the regions of the dead. Such a representation defeats the very intent of the Lawgiver, in propagating the doctrine of a future state. Nay, to mortify every excitement to noble actions, the Greek poet makes reputation, fame, and glory, the great spur to virtue in the pagan system, to be visionary and impertinent. On the contrary, Virgil, whose aim, in this poem, was the service of Society, makes the love of glory so strong a passion in the other world, that the Sibyl’s promise to Palinurus, that his NAME should be affixed to a promontory, rejoices his shade even in the regions of the unhappy :

ἡ — ἀποσμήξας πανταχόθεν, ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ μυημένῳ μαρμαρύσσον τε ἥδη, καὶ αὐγὴν καλαλαμπόμενον δεσπεσίᾳ, ἥτε ὀρίχλη ἐκείνη, καὶ τὸ νέφϷ ἀθρόον ὑπερῖηγνύλο· καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο ὁ νῆς ἐκ τῆ βάθους, φέγῃς ἀνάπλευς καὶ ἀγλαίας ἀντὶ τῆ πρότερον σκότῃ. *Orat. in Patrem.*

^u *Met.* l. xi.

Æternumque

Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit :

His dictis curæ emotæ, pulsusque parumper

Corde dolor tristi; GAUDET COGNOMINE TERRA.

They were the licentious stories of the Gods, and this ungracious description of Elysium (both so pernicious to society) which made Plato drive Homer out of his Republic.

But to return. The poet having described the climate of the happy regions, speaks next of the amusements of its inhabitants.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris;

Contendunt ludo, & fulva luctantur arena.

Besides the obvious allusion, in these lines, to the philosophy of Plato, concerning the duration of the passions, it seems to have a more secret one to what he had all the way in his eye, the *Eleusinian Mysteries*; whose celebration was accompanied with the GRECIAN GAMES^w. On which account too, perhaps, it was that, in the disposition of his work, his fifth book is employed in the *Games*, as a prelude to the *Descent* in the sixth.

I. The first place, in these happy regions, is assigned to LEGISLATORS, *and the founders of Society, who brought men from a savage to a civil life.*

Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis.

At the head of these is Orpheus, the most renowned of the European Lawgivers; but better known under the character of Poet: for the first laws being written in measure, to allure men to learn them, and, when learnt, to retain them, the fable would have it, that by the force of harmony, he softened the savage inhabitants of Thrace:

^w Ἐνδοξότατοι πάντων οἱ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγῶνες. καὶ μὴν τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ὁ τῶν Παναθηναίων· εἰ δὲ βέλει, ὁ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. *Aristoteles Panath.*—Μυθεῖσθαι δὲ ξένων πρῶτος Ἡρακλῆα, καὶ Διοσκύρεα· ἀγῶνά τε γυμνικὸν γενέσθαι πρῶτον Ἐλευσίνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. *Idem Eleusin.*

Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum.

But he has the first place ; because he was not only a Legislator, but the Introducer of the *Mysteries* into that part of Europe.

2. The next is allotted to PATRIOTS, and those who died for the service of their country :

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.

3. The third to *virtuous and pious* PRIESTS :

Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat ;

Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

For it was of principal use to Society, that religious men should lead holy lives ; and that they should teach nothing of the Gods but what was agreeable to the divine nature.

4. The last place is given to the INVENTORS OF ARTS *mechanical and liberal* :

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes :

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

The order is exact and beautiful. The first class is of those who FOUNDED Society, heroes and lawgivers ; the second, of those who SUPPORTED it, patriots and holy priests : and the third, of those who ADORNED it, the inventors of the arts of life, and the recorders of worthy actions.

Virgil has all along closely followed the doctrine of the *Mysteries*, which carefully taught that virtue only could entitle men to happiness ; and that rites, ceremonies, lustrations and sacrifices would not supply the want of it.

Nor has he been less studious in copying their *shews and representations* ; in which the figures of those heroes and heroines, who were most celebrated in the writings of the ancient Greeks, passed in procession ^x.

^x — ὅσα μὲν δὴ θεῶν ἐχόμενα εἶδον γενεαὶ παμπληθεῖς εὐδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῆστοις φάσμασιν· αἱ δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον ποιήσαι, καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πάντες ὑμῶσι.—*Aristid.*

But, notwithstanding this entire conformity between the poet's scenes and those represented in the *Mysteries*, something is still wanting to complete the proofs : and that is, the famous SECRET of the *Mysteries*, THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD, of which so much hath been said above. Had Virgil neglected to give us this characteristic mark, though, even then, we could not but say, his intention was *to represent an Initiation*; yet we must have been forced to own he had done it but imperfectly. But he was too good a painter, to leave any thing ambiguous; and hath therefore concluded his hero's *Initiation*, as was the custom, with instructing him in the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or the doctrine of the UNITY. Till this was done, the *Initiated* was not arrived to the highest stage of perfection; nor, in the fullest sense, intitled to the appellation of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ.

Musæus, therefore, who had been *Hierophant* at Athens, takes the place of the Sibyl (as it was the custom to have different Guides in different parts of the celebration) and is made to conduct him to the recess, where his Father's shade opens to him *the doctrine of Truth*, in these sublime words;

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT, totamque infusa per artus
MENS agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volan-
tum,

Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pon-
tus.

This was no other than the doctrine of the old Egyptians, as we are assured by Plato; who says they taught that Jupiter was the SPIRIT WHICH PERVADETH ALL THINGS^y.

^y Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέτων παλαιάτα· ἦν δὲ τὰ Αἰγύπτια· τὴν Ἰσὺ φασί, &c.—καὶ Δία μὲν, τὸ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΥΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ. In *Cratyl.*

We shall shew how easily the Greek Philosophy corrupted this *principle* into (what is now called) SPINOZISM^z. Here Virgil has approved his judgment to great advantage. Nothing was more abhorrent from the *Mysteries*, than Spinozism, as it overturned^a the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which the *Mysteries* so carefully inculcated; and yet the principle itself, of which Spinozism was the abuse, was cherished there, as it was the consequence of the doctrine of the Unity, the grand secret of the *Mysteries*. Virgil, therefore, delivers the principle, with great caution, and pure and free of the abuse; though he understood the nature of Spinozism, and (by the following lines in his fourth *Georgic*, where he delivers it) appears to have been infected with it.

— Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profun-
dum.

Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne fera-
rum

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.

Scilicet HUC REDDI DENIQUE AC RESOLUTA RE-
FERRI

OMNIA—

But the *Mysteries* did not teach the doctrine of the Unity for mere speculation; but, as we said before, to obviate certain mischiefs of polytheism, and to support the belief of a Providence. Now, as a *future* state of rewards and punishments did not quite remove the objections to it's inequalities here, the *Mysteries* added to it the doctrine of the METEMPSYCHOSIS, or the belief of a prior state^b. And this, likewise, our poet has been careful to record. For

^z Book iii. Sect. 4.

^a See Book iii. Sect. 3 & 4.

^b Vid. Porph. *de Abst.* l. iv. sect. 16. et Cic. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

after having revealed the great secret of the Unity, he goes on to speak of the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration, in this manner;

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revifant,
Rurfus & incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

And thence takes occasion to explain the nature and use of a Popish PURGATORY, which, in his hero's passage through that region, had not been done: this affords him too an opportunity for that noble episode, the procession of the hero's posterity, which passes in review before him: And with this the scene closes. One might well allow Virgil the use of so important a digression, (considering whom it was he celebrated under the character of Æneas) though it had been foreign to the nature of the *Mysteries* he is describing. But indeed he was even here following their customs very closely. It was then, and had been for some time, the practice of the *Mysteries*, when communicated to any aspirant of distinguished quality, to exhibit to him, in their *shews* and *representations*, something ORACULAR, relating to his own fortune and affairs. Thus Himerius tells us, that Olympia, on her uprising, after the birth of Alexander, was initiated into the Samothracian *Mysteries*; Where, in the *shews*, she saw her husband Philip, at that time in Potidæa^c.

In attending the hero's progress through the three estates of the dead, I have shewn, at almost every step, from some ancient writer or other, the exact conformity of his adventures to those of the Initiated in the *Mysteries*. We shall now collect these scattered lights to a point; which will, I am persuaded, throw

^c Λέγεται ποῖε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρῃ τόκοις εὐδαίμονα ὑργιάξασαν τὰ Καθείρων ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ μυστήρια, ἰδεῖ κατὰ τὴν τελειὴν τὸν Φίλιππον. In *Eclog. Declam. apud Photium*, Cod. 165, 243.

such a lustre on this interpretation, as to make the truth of it irresistible. To this purpose, I shall have nothing to do, but to transcribe a passage from an ancient writer, preserved by Stobæus; which professes to explain the exact conformity between DEATH, or a real descent to the infernal regions, and INITIATION, where the representation of those regions was exhibited. His words are these: THE MIND IS AFFECTED AND AGITATED IN DEATH, JUST AS IT IS IN INITIATION INTO THE GRAND MYSTERIES. AND WORD ANSWERS TO WORD AS WELL AS THING TO THING: FOR ΤΕΛΕΤΤΑΝ IS TO DIE; AND ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ, TO BE INITIATED. THE FIRST STAGE IS NOTHING BUT ERRORS AND UNCERTAINTIES; LABORIOUS WANDERINGS; A RUDE AND FEARFUL MARCH THROUGH NIGHT AND DARKNESS. AND NOW ARRIVED ON THE VERGE OF DEATH AND INITIATION, EVERY THING WEARS A DREADFUL ASPECT: IT IS ALL HORROR, TREMBLING, SWEATING, AND AFFRIGHTMENT. BUT THIS SCENE ONCE OVER, A MIRACULOUS AND DIVINE LIGHT DISPLAYS ITSELF; AND SHINING PLAINS AND FLOWERY MEADOWS OPEN ON ALL HANDS BEFORE THEM. HERE THEY ARE ENTERTAINED WITH HYMNS, AND DANCES, WITH THE SUBLIME DOCTRINES OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE, AND WITH REVEREND AND HOLY VISIONS. AND NOW BECOME PERFECT AND INITIATED, THEY ARE FREE, AND NO LONGER UNDER RESTRAINTS; BUT CROWNED AND TRIUMPHANT, THEY WALK UP AND DOWN THE REGIONS OF THE BLESSED; CONVERSE WITH PURE AND HOLY MEN; AND CELEBRATE THE SACRED MYSTERIES AT PLEASURE^d.

The

^d Τὸ δὲ πάσχειν πάθος, οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλας καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως διὰ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν τελετῶν καὶ τελεῖσθαι προσέ-
οικε, πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ καπνῶδεις, καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπ-

The progress finished, and every thing over, Æneas and his Guide are let out again to the upper regions, through the *ivory gate* of DREAMS. A circumstance borrowed from Homer, and very happily applied to this subject; for, as Euripides elegantly expresses it,

“ΥΠΝΟΣ τὰ ΜΙΚΡΑ τῷ Θανάτῳ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ.

A DREAM is the LESSER MYSTERIES of *death*.

But, besides this of *ivory*, there was another of *horn*. Through the first issued *false* visions; and through the latter, *true*.

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ: quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua *veris* facilis datur exitus umbris:

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed *falsa* ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes.

His ubi tum natum *Anchises*, unaque Sibyllam
Prosequitur dictis, *portaque emittit eburna*.

Servius, with the rank spirit of a grammarian, who seldom finds any thing to stop at but a solecism in expression, says very readily, “Vult autem intelligi,

τοὶ πορεύειν καὶ ἀτέλεστοι· εἴτα πρὸ τῷ τέλει αὐτῷ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φόβη, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἰδρώς, καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ὥς τι θυμῷ αἰσίων ἀπηνήσεν, ἢ τόποι καθαροὶ, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωναὶ καὶ χορείαι καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκρομαμάτων ἱερῶν, καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ πάντῃς ἡδὴ καὶ μεμνημένῳ ἐλευθέρῳ γεγονώς, καὶ ἀφελῶ περιττῶν ἐσφαινωμένῳ ὀργιᾷζει· καὶ συνέστιν ὅσοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. *Sermo cxix.* The Son of Sirach, who was full of Grecian ideas, and hath embellished his admirable work of ECCLESIASTICUS with a great deal of Gentile learning, hath plainly alluded, tho' in few words, to these circumstances of INITIATION, where encouraging men to seek after *wisdom*, he says:—“At first she will walk with him by
“CROOKED ways, and bring FEAR and DREAD upon him, and
“TORMENT HIM WITH HER DISCIPLINE, until she may TRUST
“his soul, and TRY him by her laws. Then will she return the
“STRAIGHT way unto him, and COMFORT him, and shew him
“her SECRETS.”—διεστραμμένως πορεύεται μετ' αὐτῷ ἐν πρώτοις· ΦΟΒΟΝ δὲ καὶ ΔΕΙΔΙΑΝ ἐπάξει ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ ΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ἘΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΗΣ, ἕως ἢ ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗ· τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῷ· καὶ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΗ αὐτόν ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτῆς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπανήξει κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕΙ αὐτόν, καὶ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΙ αὐτῷ τὰ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ αὐτῆς. Chap. iv. ver. 17, 18.

“ falsa esse omnia quæ dixit. He would have you
 “ understand by this, that all he has been saying is
 “ false and groundless.” The following critics give
 the same solution. Ruæus, one of the best, may
 speak for them all: “ Cum igitur Virgilius Æneam
 “ eburnea porta emittit, indicat profecto, quidquid a
 “ se de illo inferorum aditu dictum est, in fabulis esse
 “ numerandum.” This interpretation is strength-
 ened by Virgil’s being an Epicurean; and making
 the same conclusion in his second *Georgic*:

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
 Subjecit pedibus, *strepitumque Acherontis avari!*

But Virgil wrote, not for the amusement of women and children over a winter’s fire, in the taste of the *Milesian fables*; but for the use of men and citizens; to instruct them in the duties of humanity and society. The purpose, therefore, of such a writer, when he treats of a FUTURE STATE, must be to make the doctrine interesting to his reader, and useful in civil life: Virgil hath done the first, by bringing his Hero to it through the most perilous atchievement; and the second, by appropriating the rewards and punishments of that state to *virtue* and to *vice* only. Now if we will believe these critics, when the poet had laboured through a whole book, and employed all his art and genius to compass this important end, he foolishly defeats his whole design with one wanton dash of his pen, which speaks to this effect: “ I
 “ have laboured, countrymen, to draw you to vir-
 “ tue, and to deter you from vice, in order to make
 “ particulars and societies flourishing and happy.
 “ The truths inforced to this purpose, I have endea-
 “ voured to recommend by the example of your an-
 “ cestor and founder, Æneas; of whom (to do you
 “ the more credit) I have made an accomplished he-
 “ ro; and have set him on the most arduous and il-
 “ lustrious

“lustrious undertaking, the establishment of a civil
 “community: and to sanctify his character, and add
 “reverence to his laws, I have sent him upon the
 “errand you see here related. But, lest the business
 “should do you any service, or my hero any honour,
 “I must inform you, that all this talk of a *future state*
 “is a childish tale, and Æneas’s part in it, only a
 “fairy adventure. In a word, all that you have
 “heard, must pass for a luten dream, from which
 “you are to draw no consequences, but that the poet
 “was in a capricious humour, and disposed to
 “laugh at your superstitions.” Thus is Virgil made
 to speak in the interpretation of ancient and modern
 critics*. And this the conclusion he was pleased to
 give to the master-piece of all his writings.

The truth is, the difficulty can never be gotten
 over, but by supposing THE DESCENT TO SIGNIFY
 AN INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES. This will
 unriddle the enigma, and restore the poet to himself.
 And if this was Virgil’s purpose, it is to be pre-
 sumed, he would give some private mark to ascertain
 his meaning: for which no place was so proper as the
 conclusion. He has, therefore, with a beauty of
 invention worthy of himself, made this fine improve-
 ment on Homer’s story of the *two gates*; and by
 imagining that of horn for true visions, and that of
 ivory for false, insinuates, by the first, the *reality* of
 another state; and by the second, the *shadowy* repre-
 sentations of it in the shews of the *Mysteries*: so that,
 not the things themselves, but only the pictures of
 them, objected to Æneas, were false; as the Scene
 did not lye in HELL, but in the TEMPLE OF CERES.

* This absurdity did not escape the learned Dacier, who, in
 his note on *porta fugiens eburna*, l. iii. Od. xxvii. of Horace,
 says,—Mais ce qu’il y a d’étonnant, c’est que Virgile fait sortir
 Anchise par la port d’ivoire, qui est celle des faux songes; par la
 il détruit toutes les grandes choses qu’il a dites de Rome & d’Au-
 guste.

This representation being called ΜΥΘΟΣ, κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this we propose as the true meaning of

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto :

Sed FALSA ad cœlum mittunt infomnia manes.

For, *falsa infomnia* do not signify *lying*, but, *shadowy dreams*. Thus the Roman widow, in the famous sepulchral inscription^f, begs the Dii manes to be so indulgent to her husband's shade, that she may see him in her dreams; that is, seem to see him, as the shade of Hector was seen by Æneas,

In somnis ecce ante oculos mœstissimus Hector

Visus adesse mihi——

and this, in distinction to what that Roman Widow makes the other part of her prayer, to be *really* joined to him in the other world.

But though the visions which issued from the ivory gate were *unsubstantial*, as being only representative; yet I make no question, but the ivory gate itself was *real*. It appears, indeed, to be no other than that sumptuous door of the temple, through which the *Initiated* came out, when the *celebration* was over. This temple was of an immense bigness, as appears from the words of Apuleius: “ Senex
“ comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores ÆDIS

^f ITA PETO VOS MANES
SANCTISSIMI
COMMENDATVM HABEATIS
MEVM CONIVGEM ET VEL-
LITIS

HVIC INDVLGENTISSIMI ESSE
HORIS NOCTURNIS
VT EVM VIDEAM

ET ETIAM ME FATO SVADERE
VELLIT VT ET EGO POSSIM
DVLCIVS ET CELERIVS
APVD EVM PERVENIRE.

Apud Grut. p. 786.

“ AMPLIS-

“AMPLISSIMÆ^g.” Strabo is more particular:
 “Next (says he) is Eleusis, in which is the temple
 “of the Eleusinian Ceres, and the mystic cell built
 “by Ictinus, CAPABLE OF HOLDING AS LARGE A
 “NUMBER AS A THEATRE^h.” But Vitruvius’s de-
 “scription of it is still more curious: “ELEUSINÆ
 “Cereris & Proserpinæ cellam IMMANI MAGNITU-
 “DINE Ictinus Dorico more, sine exterioribus colum-
 “nis *ad laxamentum usus sacrificiorum*, pertexit.
 “Eam autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus
 “Athenis rerum potiretur, Philon ante templum in
 “fronte columnis constitutis Prostylon fecit. *Ita*
 “*aucto vestibulo laxamentum initiantibus operisque*
 “*summam adjecit auctoritatemⁱ.*” And Aristides
 thought this the most extraordinary circumstance in
 the whole affair: “But the thing most wonderful
 “and divine was, that of all the public assemblies of
 “Greece, this was the only one which was contained
 “within the walls of one edifice^k.” Here was
 room, we see, and so purposely contrived, for all
 their SHEWS and REPRESENTATIONS.

And now, having occasionally, and by parts only,
 said so much of these things, it will not be amiss, in
 conclusion to give one general and concise idea of the
 whole. I suppose the substance of the celebration to
 be a kind of drama of the history of Ceres; as
 those under the patronage of the other Gods repre-
 sented their History; so HERCULES and MYTHRAS,
 who protected the oppressed from the ravages of wild
 Beasts or more cruel Men, had their labours in *war*
 and *hunting* dramatically held out. The Story of

^g *Metam.* l. xi.

^h Εἴτ' Ἐλευσὶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ ὁ
 μυστικὸς σηκός, ὃν καλεσκεύασεν Ἰκλῖν, ὅχλον θεάτρει δέξασθαι δυνάμενον.
 —lib. ix. *Geog.*

ⁱ *De Architect.* Præf. ad l. vii.

^k Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον καὶ θεϊότατον, μόνην γὰρ ταύτην πανηγύρεων εἰς οἶκον
 συλλαβὴν εἶχε. *Eleusin. Orat.*

Ceres afforded opportunity to represent the three particulars, about which the mysteries were principally concerned. 1. *The rise and establishment of civil society.* 2. *The doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments.* 3. *The error of polytheism, and the principle of the unity.* The Goddess's legislation in Sicily and Attica (at both which places she was said to civilize the savage manners of the inhabitants) gave birth to the *first*ⁱ. Her search for her daughter Proserpine in hell, to the *second*; and her resentments against the Gods for their permission of, or connivance at, the rape, to the *third*^m. My supposition, of the dramatic nature of the shews, is not made without good authority. Lucian, in his *Alexander*, where he gives a large account of the impostures of that false prophet, speaking of the *Mysteries* which he instituted, in honour of his new-found God, Glyco; says, they were celebrated (after the usual preparatory rites of torch bearing, initiation, and public notice to the prophane to keep at distance,) by a three Days festival: "On the first day was represented the labour of Latona and the Nativity of Apollo; the nuptials of Ceronis; and the birth of Æsculapius. On the second, the appearance of Glyco, and the generation of the god: and on the third, the marriage of Podalirius with the mother of Alexander." "Every thing in these rites being performed, as the turn of the learned author's rela-

ⁱ Teque, Ceres & Libera, quarum sacra—a quibus initia vitæ, atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data, ac dispartita esse dicuntur. *Cic. in Verr. v. c. 72.*

^m This circumstance Apollodorus informs us of; his Words are these:—Μαθεῖσα δὲ παρ' ἑρμηνέων, ὅτι Πλέτων αὐτὴν ἥρπασεν, ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΠΕΛΙΠΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ· εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικί, ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα.

ⁿ Ληΐς ἐγένετο λοχεΐα, καὶ Απόλλωνος γοναί, καὶ Κορωνίδος γάμος, καὶ Ἀσκληπιός, ἐτίκτετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γλυκῶνος ἐπιφάνεια καὶ γένεσις τῆ θεῆς. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ, Ποδαλειρίᾳ τε ἦν καὶ τῆς μηλίδος Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμος, &c.

tion necessarily implies, in imitation of ancient usage. But here let it be observed, that the secrets of the *Mysteries* were unfolded both by *words* and *actions*: of which Aristides, quoted above, gives the reason; “That so the *sounds* and *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression on the minds of the *Initiated*.” The *error of polytheism* therefore was as well exposed by the *dark wanderings* in the subterraneous passages thro’ which the Initiated began his course, as by the information received from the Hierophant: and the *unity* as strongly illustrated by the αὐτοπλον ἄγαλμα, the *self-seen image*°, the diffusive *shining light*, as by the *hymn of Orpheus*°, or this *speech of Anchises*.

On the whole, if I be not much deceived, the view in which I place this famous episode, not only clears up a number of difficulties, inexplicable on any other scheme; but likewise heightens and ennobles the whole poem; for now the episode is seen to be an essential part of the main subject, which is THE ERECTION OF A CIVIL POLICY and A RELIGION; custom having made *initiation into the Mysteries* a necessary preparative for that arduous undertaking.

But there is no place in this admirable Poem, even to the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, which will not instruct us how considerable a station the MYSTERIES held in public life; and how necessary they were supposed to be, to compleat the equipage of a Hero.

The ornaments on this shield represent two famous Histories of different periods, and very differently executed. The first, a loose sketch of the foundation and early fortunes of Rome; the second, a highly finished picture of the victory of Actium. These so dissimilar pieces seem to be as oddly connected; by a sudden jump unto the other world.

° See note (r) p. 335.

° See p. 235.

Hinc procul addit
 Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis;
 Et scelerum poenas, & te, Catilina, minaci
 Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
 Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem^a.

But there is more in this disposition than appears at first sight. The several parts make an uniform and connected System. The first of the two principal parts, we have observed, is a view of the foundation and first establishment of ancient Rome. Now Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that this city, was in nothing more excellent, or worthy of imitation, than in the genius of its national Religion; which was so constructed, as to be always ready to render service to the State. Hence, Virgil, when he has brought us to the time in which their civil establishment was perfectly secured by the slaughter and dispersion of the Gauls,

(Scutis protecti corpora longis,)

goes on to the RELIGIOUS constitution:

Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
 Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cœlo
 Excuderat: castæ ducebant sacra per urbem
 Pilentis matres in mollibus——

Now Strabo observes, that the ancient pagan religion consisted of two parts, the OPEN and the SECRET^r. The *open*, Virgil hath given us in the Salian and Lupercal rites. What remained was the *secret*; and this he presents to us in an oblique description of the *Mysteries*; where (as we have shewn) the scenes of a future state were exhibited to the Initiated.

Hinc procul addit
 TARTAREAS etiam SEDES, alta ostia Ditis;

^a Lib. viii.

^r Lib. x.

Et scelerum poenas, & te, Catilina, minaci
 Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
 SECRETOSQUE PIOS; his dantem jura Catonem.

So that, as before, a particular INITIATION into the *Mysteries* was meant by Æneas's descent to the infernal regions; here, the general CELEBRATION of them is to be understood by this contracted view of Tartarus and Elyfium.

As this meaning seems necessary to give common propriety to the description of the shield, there is reason, I think, for receiving it. And if we allow, that the MYSTERIES are here represented under the idea of the *infernal regions*, we gain a new argument in favour of the interpretation of the sixth book.

If it be asked why Cato is put, as it were, in the place of Minos; and Catiline, of Tityus; the answer will let us into another beauty. It is a fine insinuation, that these foreign rites of Eleusis deserved to be naturalized at Rome. In which he only followed the opinion of Cicero^s.

Here it may not be improper to take notice of a vulgar mistake, as old at least as Servius, that Cato the cenfor, and not Cato of Utica, is meant in this place; as if the Court-poet would not dare to celebrate the professed enemy of the Julian house. This made the critics seek out for a Cato of a distant age, to brave Catiline in Hell; when they might have seen it could be no other than his great contemporary, who had before withstood him in Rome. The last line,

SECRETOSQUE PIOS; his dantem jura Catonem,
 was probably a compliment to Cato in his little senate at Utica.

^s See p. 245.

All this considered, we see the reason, the great artist had to call his picture, his portraiture on the shield,

— Clypei NON ENARRABILE textum ;
an ÆNIGMATICAL Picture.

And now the nature and purpose of the *sixth* book being further supported by this collateral circumstance, it will enable us to discover and explain another beauty in the *seventh* ; which depending on this principle, could not be seen till it was established.

If the recommendation of the *Mysteries* was of such importance in an epic poem of this *species* ; and if, at the time of writing, many of the *Mysteries* were become abominably corrupt, we can hardly believe but that the poet, after he had so largely expatiated in praise of those that were holy and useful, would take care to stigmatize such as were become notoriously profligate : because this tended equally with the other, to vindicate, what he had in view, the honour of the institution. And what strengthens this conjecture, is the similar conduct of another great writer of antiquity upon the same subject, whom we are now coming to, APULEIUS of Madaura, whose *Metamorphosis* is written altogether in this view of recommending the pagan *Mysteries* ; in which, as we shall find, he hath been no less circumstantial in reprobating the corrupt *Mysteries* of the SYRIAN GODDESS than in extolling the pure rites of the EGYPTIAN ISIS. A conduct so much alike, that the two cases will serve mutually to support what is here said of either.

This then seemed a necessary part in the plan of Virgil's Poem. But it was no easy matter to execute it. Another allegory would have been without grace ; nor was there any repose in the latter part of the action of the poem, as in the former, to admit a digression of such a length. On the other hand,

to

to condemn all *corrupt Mysteries*, in the plain way of a judiciary sentence, did not suit the nature of his poem: or if it had suited, could it have been used, without hurting the uniform texture of the work; after the *pure rites* had been so covertly recommended under figures and fictions.

The poet, therefore, with admirable invention, hath contrived, in the next book, to render the most corrupt of the *Mysteries*, the secret rites of BACCHUS, very odious, by making them the instrument to traverse the designs of Providence, in the establishment of his Hero; and by putting a FURY on the office of exciting the *aspirants*, to the *celebration* of them. Amata, the mother of Lavinia, in order to violate the league and alliance between Æneas and Latinus, contrives, at the instigation of Alecto, to secrete her daughter; and to devote and consecrate her to Bacchus, in an *initiation* into one of his abominable rites.

SIMULATO numine BACCHI
Majus adorta NEFAS, majoremque orsa furorem,
Evolat, & *natam* frondosis montibus ABDIT^t;
Quo thalamum eripiat Teucris, tēdasque mo-
retur:

Evoë, Bacche! fremens SOLUM TE VIRGINE DIG-
NUM^t

Vociferans——

Fama volat: Furiisque accensas pectore *matres*,
Idem omnis simul ardor agit, nova quærere tecta
Deferuere domos——

Clamat: Io, *matres*——

Solvite crinales vittas, capite orgia mecum.

Talem inter sylvas, inter deserta ferarum

^t Livy, we have seen, in his account of these rites of *Bacchus*, says, “Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos machinæ illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant.”

Reginam ALECTO STIMULIS AGIT UNDIQUE
BACCHI^u.

The Mysteries of Bacchus were well chosen for an example of corrupted Rites, and of the mischiefs they produced; for they were early, and flagrantly corrupted. But his principal reason for this choice, I suppose, was a very extraordinary story he found in the Roman annals, of the horrors committed in that city, during the clandestine celebration of the *Bacchic rites*; which Livy has transcribed very circumstantially into the thirty-ninth book of his *History*.

Nor did the poet think he had done enough, in representing the *corrupt Mysteries* under these circumstances of discredit, without specifying the mischiefs they produced; nor that he had sufficiently distinguished them from the *pure*, without shewing those mischiefs to be such as the *pure* had taken care to obviate.

The next news, therefore, we hear of Amata, after her celebration of the rites of Bacchus, is her *SUICIDE*, and a suicide of the most ignominious kind.

Purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus,
Et nodum *informis leti* trabe nectit ab alta.

This disaster, the poet makes Jupiter charge upon

^u Lib. vii.—Plutarch describes these *corrupt Mysteries*, in the same manner; but adds, that they were not celebrated in honour of any of the Gods, but to prevent mischief from EVIL DEMONS, whom, by such sort of Rites, they would appease and render innocuous.—ἑορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοί, νηστειάι τε καὶ κοπεῖοι, πολλαχῆ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς, μανίαι τε ἄλλαι ὀργιζόμεναι ῥιψαυχενὴ σὺν κλόνῳ, θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ, ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ δὲ ΦΑΥΛΩΝ, ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα φῆσαιμ' αὖ τελεῖν μελίχια καὶ παραμυθία.—περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων.

Juno; who, by the ministry of Alecto, excited Amata to an *initiation*,

Terris agitare vel undis
Trojanos potuisti : infandum accendere bellum,
DEFORMARE DOMUM, & luctu miscere hymen-
æos.

Suicide, as we learn by Plato^w, the *holy mysteries* expressly forbid and condemned. On which account our poet, in his allegorical description of what was represented in the *Eleusinian*, has placed these criminals in a state of misery.

Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi le-
thum——

Thus nobly hath Virgil completed his design on the subject of the MYSTERIES. The hero of the poem is initiated into the most pure and holy of them; his capital Enemy, into the most impure and corrupt; and the schemes and intrigues of each party have a correspondent issue.

To conclude, the Principles here assumed, in explaining this famous poetical fiction, are, I presume, such as give solidity, as well as light, to what is deduced from them; and are, perhaps, the only Principles from which any thing reasonable can be deduced in a piece of criticism of this nature. For, from what I had shewn was taught, and represented in the *Mysteries*, I infer that Æneas's DESCENT INTO HELL signifies an INITIATION; because of the exact conformity, in all circumstances, between what Virgil relates of his Hero's adventure, and what antiquity delivers concerning the SHEWS and DOCTRINES of those MYSTERIES, into which Heroes were wont to be initiated. On the contrary, had I gratuitously supposed, without any previous knowledge of what was practised in the *Mysteries*, that the *descent* was

^w See above, p. 318.

an *initiation*, merely because Augustus (who was shadowed under the person of Æneas) was initiated; and thence inferred, that the *Mysteries* did exhibit the same scenes which the Poet hath made *Hell* to exhibit to his Hero, my explanation had been as devoid of any solid inference, as of any rational principle. And yet if authority could support so impertinent a conduct, one might have ventured on it. A celebrated writer^x, in a tract intitled *Reflections on the character of Iapis in Virgil*, goes altogether on this gratuitous kind of criticism. Without any previous knowledge of the life and fortunes of ANTONIUS MUSA, the physician of Augustus, he supposes that Virgil meant this person by IAPIS, merely because Augustus was meant by Æneas. And then, from what the poet tells us of Iapis's history, the critic concludes it must have made part of the history of Musa; and so, instead of explaining a fable by history, he would regulate history on a fable. Whereas the principles of true criticism should have directed him to inquire previously what Antiquity had left us, concerning the person of Antonius Musa: and if, on comparing what he found there, with what Virgil has delivered concerning Iapis, any strong resemblance was to be found; then, and not till then, his ingenious conjecture, that *Iapis* was *Musa*, would stand upon a reasonable bottom. It was not thus that an able critic^y lately explained Virgil's noble allegory, in the beginning of the *third* GEORGIC; where, under the idea of a magnificent Temple, to be raised to the Divinity of Augustus; the poet promises the famous epic poem which he afterwards erected in his honour; or, as our Milton says,

———“built the lofty rhyme.”

^x Dr. Atterbury Bishop of Rocheller.

^y See Hor. *Ep. ad August.* with an *Engl. Comm. and Notes*, p. 36.

But had the existence of such a poem never come to our knowledge, I am persuaded, this excellent writer had never troubled the world with so slender a conjecture that a Temple signified an epic poem; and therefore that Virgil executed, or at least intended, such a work. In truth, Critics should proceed in these enquiries about their author's secret meaning, with the same caution and sobriety which Courts of Justice employ in the detection of concealed criminals; who take care, in the first place to be well assured of the *corpus delicti*, before they venture to charge the fact upon any one.

Thus far concerning the *use* of the MYSTERIES to SOCIETY. How *essential* they were esteemed to RELIGION, we may understand by the METAMORPHOSIS OF APULEIUS; a book, indeed, which from its very first appearance hath passed for a trivial fable. Capitolinus, in the life of Clodius Albinus, where he speaks of that kind of tales which disconcert the gravity of philosophers, tells us that Severus could not bear with patience the honours the Senate had conferred on Albinus; especially their distinguishing him with the title of *learned*, who was grown old in the study of old-wives-fables, such as the Milesian-Punic tales of his countryman and favourite, Apuleius: “Major fuit (says Severus, in his letter to the senate on this occasion) “dolor quod illum pro
“*literato* laudandum plerique duxistis, quum ille
“*næniis* quibusdam anilibus occupatus *inter Milesias*
“*Punicas Apuleii sui* et ludicra literaria consenesce-
“ret.” That poor, modern-spirited critic Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius in the same strain.—
“Nec omnibus fabulis Philosophia repugnat, nec
“omnibus acquiescit—Fabulæ, aut tantum conci-
“liandæ auribus voluptatis aut adhortationis quoque
“in bonam frugem gratia repertæ sunt, auditum
“mulcent; velut comœdiæ; quales Menander ejus-
“ve imitatores agendas dederunt: vel argumenta
“fictis

“ fictis casibus amatorum referta; quibus vel mul-
 “ tum se *Arbiter* exercuit, vel APULEIUM nonnun-
 “ quam *lusisse* MIRAMUR. Hoc totum fabularum
 “ genus, quod solas aurium delicias profitetur, e sacra-
 “ rio suo in nutricum cunas sapientiæ tractatus elimi-
 “ nat^z.”—However he seems to wonder that Apu-
 leius should trifle so egregiously: and well he might.
 For the writer of the *Metamorphosis* was one of the
 gravest and most virtuous, as well as most learned,
 philosophers of his age. But Albinus appears to
 have gone further into the true character of this
 work, than his rival Severus. And if we may be-
 lieve Marcus Aurelius, who calls Albinus, “ homo
 “ exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus^a,” he was
 not a man to be taken with such trifling amusements
 as Milesian fables. His fondness therefore for the
Metamorphosis of Apuleius shews, that he considered
 it in another light. And who so likely to be let into
 the author’s true design, as Albinus, who lived very
 near his time, and was of Adrumetum in the neigh-
 bourhood of Carthage, where Apuleius sojourned
 and studied, and was honoured with public marks
 of distinction! The work is indeed of a different
 character from what some Ancients have represented
 it; and even from what modern Critics have pre-
 tended to discover of it. Those Ancients, who stuck
 in the outside, considered it, without refinement, as
 an idle fable: the Moderns, who could not reconcile
 a work of that nature to the gravity of the author’s
 character, have supposed it a thing of more import-
 ance, and no less than a general satire on the vices
 of those times: “ Tota porro hæc metamorphosis
 “ Apuleiana (says Mr. Fleuri^b) & stylo & senten-
 “ tia, satyricon est perpetuum, ut recte observavit
 “ Barthius, *Advers.* lib. li. cap. 11. in quo magica

^z Lib. i. c. 2.

^a Capitolinus, in *Claud. Alb.*

^b Ed. Ap. in us. Delph.

“deliria, sacrificulorum scelera, adulterorum crimi-
 “na, furum & latronum impunitæ factiones palam
 “differuntur.” But this is far short of the matter.
 The author’s main purpose was not to satyrize the
 specific *vices of his age* (tho’ to enliven his fable, and
 for the better carrying on his story, he hath em-
 ployed many circumstances of this kind) but to re-
 commend PAGAN RELIGION as the only cure for
all vice whatsoever.

To give what we have to say its proper force, we
 must consider the real character of the writer. Apu-
 leius, of Madaura in Afric, was a devoted Plato-
 nist; and, like the Platonists of that age, an inve-
 terate enemy to Christianity. His zeal for the *ho-
 nour of philosophy* is seen in that solemn affirmation,
 when convened before a court of justice, “Philoso-
 “phiæ honorem qui mihi salute mea antiquior est,
 “nusquam minui.” His superstitious attachment
 to the *Religion of his country* is seen in his immode-
 rate fondness for the MYSTERIES. He was initiated,
 as himself tells us, into almost all of them: and, in
 some, bore the most distinguished offices. In his
 Apology before the proconsul of Africa, he says,
 “Vin’ dicam, cujusmodi illas res in sudario obvo-
 “lutas, laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi
 “geretur. *Sacrorum pleraque Initia in Græcia parti-
 “cipavi.* Eorum quædam signa & monumenta tra-
 “dita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conservo. Nihil
 “insolitum, nihil incognitum dico: vel unius Li-
 “beri Patris Symmistæ, qui adestis, scitis, quid do-
 “mi conditum celetis, & absque omnibus profanis
 “tacite veneremini. *At ego, ut dixi, multijuga sa-
 “cra et plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias, STUDIO
 “VERI et officio erga Deos, didici.* Nec hoc ad tem-
 “pus compono: sed abhinc ferme triennium est,
 “cum primis diebus quibus Œam veneram, publice

“ *differens de ÆSCULAPII MAJESTATE eadem ista*
 “ *præ me tuli, & quot sacra nossem percensui. Ea*
 “ *disputatio celebratissima est; vulgo legitur; in om-*
 “ *nium manibus versatur; non tam facundia mea,*
 “ *quam mentione Æsculapii religiosis Cœnsibus*
 “ *commendata.*——Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri
 “ *potest, cui sit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot*
 “ *Mysteriis Deum conscium quædam sacrorum cre-*
 “ *pundia domi adservare* ^d?” His attachment to
 the *open* worship of Paganism was not inferior to
 that of the *secret*, as appears by what follows from
 the same Apology:——“ *Morem mihi habeo, quo-*
 “ *quò eam, simulacrum alicujus Dei inter libellos*
 “ *conditum gestare; eique diebus festis thure &*
 “ *mero & aliquando victimis supplicare*.” His
 great devotion to Paganism, therefore, must needs
 have been attended with an equal aversion to Chris-
 tianity; and it is more than probable, that the ora-
 tion he speaks of as made in honour of Æsculapius,
 was in the number of those *INVECTIVES*, at that
 time so well received by the enemies of our holy
 faith. For, not to insist on the success of his ora-
 tion, which, he tells us, was in every body’s hands,
 a thing common to discourses on subjects that en-
 gage the public attention, but rarely the fortune of
 such stale ware as panegyrics on a God long worn
 into an establishment; not, I say, to insist upon
 this, we may observe that Æsculapius was one of
 those ancient heroes ^f, who were employed, by the
 defenders of Paganism, to oppose to Jesus; and the
 circumstances of Æsculapius’s story made him the
 fittest of any in fabulous antiquity, for that pur-
 pose. Ovid, who lived before these times of danger

^d *Apologia*, p. 63—4. Ed. a Pricæo, Par. 1635. 4to.

^e *Apologia*, p. 72.

^f Justin Martyr. *Apol.* 2.——ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ἔμαθον προφητευθέντα
 θεραπεύσειν αὐτὸν νόσον, καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνέγειν, τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν παρηνεύσαν.
 —See Cyrill. *cont. Julian.* l. vi.

to the pagan Gods, and indeed, before the coming of that Deliverer who gave occasion to so many impious comparisons, hath yet made Ochirrœe, in contemplation of his future actions, prophesy of him in such strains as presented to his excellent Translator the image of the *true physician of mankind*; and thereby enabled him to give a sublime to his version, which is not borrowed from his original.

Ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores,
Incaluitque Deo, quem clausam pectore habebat;
Aspicit infantem, totique salutifer orbi
Cresce puer, dixit: tibi se mortalia sæpe
Corpora debebunt: animas tibi reddere ademptas
Fas erit. Idque semel, dīs indignantibus, ausus,
Posse dare hoc iterum flamma prohibebere avitâ:
Eque deo corpus fies exsanguē; deusque,
Qui modò corpus eras, & bis tua fata novabis.

OVID.

Once as the sacred infant she survey'd,
The God was kindled in the raving maid,
And thus she utter'd her prophetic tale:

“Hail, great physician of the world, all hail;
“Hail, mighty Infant, who in years to come,
“Shalt heal the nations and defraud the tomb;
“Swift be thy growth, thy triumphs unconfin'd
“Make kingdoms thicker, and increase man-
“kind.

“Thy daring art shall animate the dead,
“And draw the thunder on thy guilty head:
“Then shalt thou die.—But from the dark
“abode

“Rise up victorious, and be twice a God.”

ADDISON.

But the Reformers of Paganism having lately resolved all the Popular Gods into the Attributes and Manifestations of the FIRST CAUSE, Æsculapius bore a

very distinguished rank in this new Model. Pausanias tells us, that in Phocis there was a celebrated Temple dedicated to him, where he was worshiped, as the Author and original of all things^g.

Having seen what there was in the common passion of his Sect, and in his own fond mode of superstition, to indispose Apuleius to Christianity; let us inquire what private provocation he might have to prejudice him against it: for, a private provocation, I am persuaded, he had; occasioned by a personal injury done him by one of THIS PROFESSION; which, I suppose, did not a little contribute to exasperate his bigotry. He had married a rich widow, against the good liking of her first husband's Relations; who endeavoured to set aside the marriage on pretence of his employing forcery and enchantments to engage her affections. Of this, he was judicially accused by his wife's brother-in-law, Licinius Æmilianus, before the Proconsul of Africa. Now his Accuser, if I am not much mistaken, was a CHRISTIAN, tho' this interesting circumstance hath escaped the notice of his commentators. However let us hear the character Apuleius himself gives of his Party.—“Atqui ego scio nonnullos, et cum primis Æmilianum istum, *facetiæ sibi habere res divinas deridere*. Nam, ut audio, perconsentibus iis qui istum novere, NULLI DEO *ad hoc ævi supplicavit; nullum templum frequentavit*. Si fanum aliquod prætereat, NEFAS HABET ADORANDI GRATIA MANUM LABRIS ADMOVERE. Iste vero nec diis rurationis, qui eum pascunt ac vestiunt, segetis ullas aut vitis aut gregis primitias impartit; nullum in villa ejus delubrum situm, nec locus aut lucus consecratus. At quid ego de luco aut delubro loquor? *Negant vidisse se, qui fuere, unum saltem*

^g Σταδίοις δὲ ἁπλωτέρῳ Τιθορέας ἐβδμήκοντα ναὸς εἰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαγέτας. Τιμὰς δὲ παρὰ αὐτῶν ἔχει Τιθορέων, καὶ ἐπίσης παρὰ Φακίων τῶν ἄλλων. Lib. x.

in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum. Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: *Charon*, ob oris et animi *diritatem*: sed alterum, quod LIBENTIUS AUDIT, ob deorum contemptum, *Mezentius*^h.”

And now let us see how this agrees with what Arnobius tells us, the Pagans objected to his Sect—“*In hac enim consueftis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque ædes sacras venerationis ad Officia construamus, nec Deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus, aut formam: non altaria fabricemus, non aras, non cæforum sanguinem animantium demus, non tura, non frugas falfas, non denique vinum liquens paterarum effusionibus inferamus. Quæ quidem nos cessamus non ideo vel exædificare, vel facere tanquam impias geramus & scelerofas mentes, aut aliquem fumpferimus temeraria in Deos desperatione CONTEMPTUM: fed quod, &c.*”ⁱ

Again, where Apuleius apostrophifes his Adversary in another place, he fays, agreeably to the Character before given of him—SI QUID CREDIS, Æmiliane^k! and again, after explaining a fpiritual doctrine of Plato, he adds with a sneer—attamen fi audire VERUM velis, Æmiliane^l! But the repetition of this characteristic word with an ironical emphasis is his constant formula when he addreffes Æmilianus, longe a VERO aberraffe neceffe habeat confiteri^m—Immo fi VERUM velisⁿ—plane quidem fi VERUM velis^o. 1. Now, irreligion and atheism, we know, were the names Christianity at that time went by, for having dared to renounce the whole family of the gentile Gods together. To this opprobrium, Origin alludes, when he retorts it on Polytheism, in this elegant manner—οἱ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τῆς ΑΘΕΟΥ πολυθεότητος. Æmilianus we fee had made fuch clear work, that there was not fo

^h *Apol.* p. 64, 5.

ⁱ Arnob. adver. Gentes. L. vii. sub init.

^k P. 26.

^l P. 14.

^m P. 77.

ⁿ P. 98.

^o 108.

much as an *anointed stone*, or a *tree adorned with consecrated garlands*, to be found throughout his whole Farm. That the Atheism of Æmilianus was of this sort, and no *courtly* or *philosophic* impiety, appears from his Character and Station. He was neither a fine Gentleman, nor a profound Inquirer into nature; characters indeed which are sometimes found to be above Religion; but a mere Rustic, in his life and manners. Now plain, unpolished men, in such a condition of life, are never without some Religion or other: When therefore, we find Æmilianus not of the *established*, we must needs conclude him to be a *Señary* and a CHRISTIAN. 2. His neglect of his country Gods was not a mere negative affront of forgetfulness. He gloried in being their despiser; and took kindly to the name of MEZENTIUS, as a title of honour——*alterum, quod libentius audit, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius*, which I would consider as a further mark of a *Christian, convict*. 3. He even held it an *abomination* so much as to put his hand to his lips, (according to the mode of adoration in those times) when he passed by an Heathen Temple; *nefas habet, adorandi gratia, manum labris admove*re, the most characteristic mark of a *primitive Confessor*, by which he could never be mistaken; nor, one would think, so long overlooked^p. 4. By the frequent and sarcastical repetition of the word *verum*, Apuleius seems to sneer at that general title which the Faithful gave their Religion, of THE TRUTH. Æmili-

^p On what is here said concerning the Character of Æmilianus the most learned Chancellor, Mosheim, observes as follows, “*Platonis Christianam Religionem astu subvertere studentibus, APULEIUM non ita pridem addidit vir ingenio æque magnus atque doctrina, Guil. Warburtonus in Demonstratione divinæ Legationis Moysi. Hunc enim in notissima illa de aureo Asino fabula seu Metamorphosi id egisse putat, ut Mystera Deorum summa virtute ad sanandas & purgandas hominum mentes esse prædita, sacrisque Christianis idcirco longe anteferenda, demonstraret, hominem nempe imprimis superstitiosum, Christianisque et publico Sectæ, quam probabat, & privato nomine inimicum. Observavit Vir*
egre-

Æmilianus it seems had mis-represented a little image of *Mercury*, which Apuleius used to carry about with him, as a *squalid magical* figure. On which occasion the Accused, in great rage, deprecates his Accuser——“At tibi Æmiliane pro isto mendacio, duat Deus iste, Superum & Inferum commicator utrorumque Deorum malam gratiam, semperque obvias species mortuorum, quidquid Umbrarum est usquam, quidquid Lemurum, quidquid Manium, quidquid Larvarum, oculis tuis oggerat: *Omnia noctium occurfacula, omnia Bustorum formidamina, omnia sepulcrorum terriculamenta.*”—This was the common curse and supposed to be the common punishment of impiety and *Atheism*. But it has here a peculiar elegance as denounced against Æmilianus. The Busta, or Repository of dead bodies, so abhorred by the Pagans, were the very places in which the Christians assembled for nocturnal Worship.

The aversion, therefore, which Apuleius had contracted to his Christian accuser, (and we see, by what is here said, it was in no ordinary degree) would without doubt increase his prejudice to that Religion. I am persuaded he gave the Character of the Baker's

egregius, qua est sagacitate, rerumque veterum peritia, in Apuleio nonnulla nemini ante ipsum observata: in quibus id placet maxime, quod LICINIUM ÆMILIANUM, qui APULEIUM apud Africae Proconsulem *Magiae* accusaverat CHRISTIANUM fuisse ex *Apologia*, quæ extat, accusati, non sine magna veri specie suspicatur. De consilio vero *Fabulæ de Asino*, quod commentationem *Mysteriorum* et Christianæ Religionis contemtionem vir doctissimus esse conjicit, dubitare mihi liceat, quum nihil afferri videam ex ea, quod difficulter in aliam partem accipi possit.” *De rebus Christ. ante Constant. M. Commentarii* Seculum tert. Sect. 21. not. (***) The English of which conclusion amounts to this, “That another interpretation might be given of the *Golden Ass.*” I believe so. It might be shewn to contain a process for the discovery of the *Philosopher's Stone*. And a certain German Chymist, if I be not mistaken, has extracted this secret out of the *Fable*.

wife, in his *golden Ass*, for no other reason than to outrage our holy faith. Having drawn her stained with all the vices that could deform a Woman; to finish all, he makes her a Christian.

——“Nec enim vel unum vitium nequissimæ
“ille feminae deerat: sed omnia prorsus, ut in quan-
“dam cœnosam latrinam, in ejus animam flagitia
“confluxerant, sæva, viriosa, ebriosa, pervicax, in
“rapinis turpibus avara, in sumptibus fœdis pro-
“fusa: inimica fidei, hostis pudicitia. *Tunc spretis*
“*atque calcatis divinis numinibus*, IN VICEM CERTÆ
“RELIGIONIS MENTITA SACRILEGA PRÆSUMPTI-
“ONE DEI, QUEM PRÆDICARET UNICUM, CON-
“FICTIS OBSERVATIONIBUS VACUIS, fallens omnes
“homines, &c.⁹”

So again in the fourth book, describing certain magnificent Shews exhibited to the people by one Demochares; when he comes to speak of the criminals thrown to wild-beasts, he expresses himself in this manner:——*Alibi noxii, PERDITA SECURITATE*, suis epulis bestiarum faginas instruente [p. 72.] The Oxf. MS. for *securitate* reads *severitate*: on which Price observes, *ego nec hoc nec illud intellectum habeo*. Apuleius by *noxii* apparently meant the *condemned Christians*; and *perdita securitate*, which is the true reading, censures either their reasonable hope of a happy immortality, or their false confidence that the beasts would not hurt them.

Let us see now how this would influence his writings. There was nothing the PHILOSOPHERS of that time had more at heart, especially the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, than the support of sinking Paganism. This service, as hath been occasionally remarked, they performed in various ways and manners: some by *allegorizing their Theology*; some by *spiritualizing their Philosophy*; and some, as Jamblicus and Philostratus, by writing the *lives of their Heroes*, to op-

⁹ Met. l. ix. p. 186. Pric. Ed.

pose to that of CHRIST; others again, as Porphyry, with this view *collected their oracles*; or as Melan-
thius, Menander, Hiccius, and Sotades *wrote descrip-
tive encomiums on their MYSTERIES*. Which last, as
we shall now shew, was the province undertaken by
Apuleius; his *Metamorphosis* being nothing else but
one continued RECOMMENDATION of them.

But to give what we have to say it's proper force;
let us 1. enquire into the motives our Author might
have for entering at all into the defence of Paga-
nism: 2. His reasons for chusing this topic of de-
fence, *the recommendation of the Mysteries*.

1. As to his defence of paganism in general, we
may observe, 1. That works of this kind were very
much in fashion, especially amongst the Philosophers
of our author's Sect. 2. He was, as we have seen,
most superstitiously devoted to pagan worship: and,
3. He bore a personal spite and prejudice to the
Christian profession.

2. As to his making the defence of the *Mysteries*
his choice, still stronger reasons may be assigned. 1.
These were the Rites to which he was so peculiarly
devoted, that he had contrived to be *initiated* into all
the *Mysteries* of note, in the Roman world; and in
several of them had born the most distinguished of-
fices. 2. The *Mysteries* being at this time become
extremely corrupt, and consequently, in discredit,
needed an able and zealous Apologist: both of which
qualities met eminently in Apuleius. The corrup-
tions were of two kinds, DEBAUCHERIES and MA-
GIC. The *Debaucheries* we have taken notice of,
above: their *Magic* will be considered hereafter.
But, 3. Our author's close attachment to *Mysterious
rites* was, without question, the very thing that oc-
casioned all those suspicions and reports, which ended
in an accusation of *Magic*: And, considering what
hath been said of the corrupt state of the *Mysteries*,
the reader will not wonder that it should.

Such then being the general character of the *Mysteries*, and of this their great Devotee, nothing was more natural than his projecting their defence; which at the same time, that it concurred to the support of Paganism in general, would vindicate his own credit, together with an Institution of which he was so immoderately fond. And the following considerations are sufficient to shew, that the *Metamorphosis* was written after his *Apology*: for, 1. His accusers never once mention the fable of the *golden Ass* to support their charge of Magic, though they were in great want of proofs, and this lay so ready for their purpose. For, we are not to suppose that he alludes to the *Metamorphosis* in the following words of the *Apology*,—*Aggredior enim jam ad ipsum crimen Magiæ, quod ingenti tumultu, ad invidiam mei, accensum, frustrata expectatione omnium, per nescio quas anileis fabulas deflagravit.* p. 29—30. The *idle tales* here hinted at, are the gossiping stories which went about of him, and which he afterwards exposes in the course of this defence. 2. He positively asserts before the tribunal of Maximus Claudius that he had never given the least occasion to suspect him of Magic: “*Nusquam passus sum vel exiguam suspcionem magiæ consistere*.”

Now Antiquity considered INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES as a *delivery from a living death of vice, brutality, and misery; and the beginning of a new life of virtue, reason, and happiness*^s. This therefore, was the very circumstance which our Author chose for the subject of his recommendation.

And as in the *Mysteries*, their moral and divine truths were represented in *shews* and *allegories*, so, in order to comply with this method of instruction,

^r P. 100.

^s See what hath been said above, in the discourse of the *Mysteries*.

and in imitation of the ancient Masters of wisdom^t, who borrowed their manner of teaching from thence, he hath artfully insinuated his doctrine in an agreeable Fable; and the fittest, one could conceive for his purpose, as will be seen when we come to examine it.

The foundation of this Allegory was a *Milesian fable*, a species of polite trifling then much in vogue, and not unlike the modern *Arabian tales*. To allure his readers, therefore, with the promise of a *fashionable* work, he introduces his *Metamorphosis* in this manner: *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, AURESQUE TUAS benevolas lepidosusurro PERMULCEAM*; plainly intimating that there was something of more consequence at bottom. But the *fashionable* people took him at his word; and, from that day to this, never troubled their heads about a further meaning. The OUTSIDE engaged all their attention, and sufficiently delighted them; as we may gather from the early title it bore of *ASINUS AUREUS*. And, from the beginning of one of Pliny's epistles, I suspect that *AUREÆ* was the common title given to the *Milesian*, and such like tales as Strolers used to tell for a piece of money to the rabble in a circle. Pliny's words are these—*assem para, et accipe AUREAM fabulam*^u. Unless we will rather suppose it to have been bestowed by the few intelligent readers in the secret; for, in spite of the Author's repeated preparation, a secret it was, and so, all along continued.

Upon one of these popular Fables, he chose to ingraft his instruction; taking a celebrated Tale from the *collections* of one Lucius of Patrae; who relates

^t Strabo acquaints us with the inducements which the ancients had to practice this method of Instruction.—Οταν δὲ προσῇ καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸ τερατῶδες, ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἡδονήν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ τῷ μαθάνειν φίλτρον. Καταρχὰς μὲν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τοιαύτοις δέεσσι χρῆσθαι. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων μάθησιν ἄγειν, ἥδη τῆς διανοίας ἐξῆρμένης, καὶ μηκέτι δεομένης κολάκων. Καὶ ἰδιώτης δὲ πᾶς καὶ ἀπαιδευτὸς τρόπον τινα παῖς ἐστὶ, φιλομυθεῖ τε ὡσαύτως. Geog. l. i.

^u L. ii. Ep. 20.

his transformation into an Ass, and his adventures under that shape. Lucian has epitomised this story, as Apuleius seems to have paraphrased it: and the subject being a METAMORPHOSIS, it admirably fitted his purpose; as the METEMPSYCHOSIS, to which that superstition belongs, was one of the fundamental doctrines of the *Mysteries*. But from Photius's account of Lucius Patrensis one would be inclined to rank him amongst those who composed books of *Metamorphosis* [see B. iii. Sect. 3.] according to the popular Theology, rather than a writer of Milesian fables. He entitles Lucius's work μεταμορφώσεως λόγοι διάφοροι. And after having said that Lucian borrowed his *Ass* from thence, to ridicule pagan religion, he goes on*; “but Lucius giving a more serious turn to his Metamorphosis, and treating as realities these changes of Men into one another, of Men into Beasts, and so on the contrary, hath weaved together these and many other of the trifles and absurdities of the Ancient Mythology, and committed them to writing for the entertainment of the Public.” This will account for the oddness of Apuleius's expressions, with which he introduces his *Fable*——Et figuras fortunæque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursus MUTUO NEXU resectas, ut miseris, exordior,——words by no means suiting with the single transformation, and story of the *golden ass*, but very expressive of the nature of such a work as that of Lucius Patrensis, according to the idea which Photius gives us of it. From whence I conclude, that Apuleius might translate these very words from his original author.

The *Fable* opens with the representation of a young man, personated by himself, sensible of the advantages of *virtue* and *piety*, but immoderately

* ὁ δὲ Λακκίος σπευδάζων τε, καὶ πιστὰς νομίζων τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις, τὰς τε ἐξ ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἀνὰ πάλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΜΥΘΩΝ ὕβλον καὶ φληναφον γραφῇ παρεδίδοται αὐτὰ, καὶ συνέφανεν. *Libl. Ed. Gen. p. 311.*

fond of PLEASURE, and as curious of MAGIC. Apuleius takes care to keep up the first part of this character as he goes along, *familiaris CURIOSITATIS admonitus*, l. iii. *familiari CURIOSITATE attonitus*, l. ix. And *Curiosus* and *Magus* were used by the Ancients as Synonymous. So Apuleius himself.—*At ego CURIOSUS alioquin, ut primum ARTIS MAGICÆ semper optatum nomen audiui*, p. 24. Hence it is that he is represented as having been initiated in all the corrupt Mysteries, where Magic was professedly practised. *Fotis*, the inferior Priests in the magic rites of the Inchantress, *Pamphile*, enjoining him silence, says, *sacris pluribus initiatus, profecto nôsti sanctam silentii fidem* ^w. As to the second, we have his adventure with *Byrrhena* and *Pamphile*, which seems to be borrowed from Prodicus's fable of the contest between *Virtue* and *Pleasure* for the young *Hercules*. *Byrrhena* meets our adventurer, pretends to be his relation ^x, and tells him that she brought him up from his infancy: by which is intimated that virtue was most natural to him. She leads him home to her house, which is described as a magnificent palace: one of its principal ornaments is the history of *Diana* ^y; where the punishment of *Actæon* is not forgotten ^z, as a seasonable lesson against *vicious curiosity*. And to keep him to herself, she promises to make him heir of all her fortunes. Then taking him apart, she warns him to beware of the mischievous practices of his hostess *Pamphile*. “Per hanc, inquit, “Deam (*Dianam*) ô *Luci* carissime, ut anxie tibi “metuo, et, utpote pignori meo, longe provisum

^w P. 53.

^x Ego te, o *Luci*, meis istis manibus educavi: quidni? parentis tuæ non modo sanguinis, verum alimoniarum etiam focia fui. p. 23.

^y Ecce lapis *Parius* in *Dianam* factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem, signum perfecte luculentum,——introeuntibus obvium, et majestate numinis venerabile, etc. p. 22.

^z Inter medias frondes lapidis *Actæonis* simulacrum, *curiosa optutu* in dorsum projectus, etc. p. 23.

“ cupio, cave tibi, sed *cave fortiter*, a malis artibus,
 “ et facinorosis illecebris Pamphiles illius,—MAGA
 “ primi nominis, et omnis carminis sepulcralis ma-
 “ gistra creditur: quæ furculis et lapillis, et id ge-
 “ nus frivolis inhalatis, omnem istam lucem mundi
 “ fideralis imis Tartari, et in vetustum chaos sub-
 “ mergere novit. Nam cum quemquam conspexe-
 “ rit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumi-
 “ tur: et illico *etc.*

But Lucius makes a choice very different from that of Hercules. He had promised to observe *Byrrhena*'s admonitions, and to return to her again: but a circumstance of immoderate mirth intervening, he found in himself a more than ordinary aversion to keep his word. Ad hæc ego formidans et procul perhorrescens etiam ipsam domum ejus, *etc.*^a This is a fine circumstance, nothing being so great an enemy to modesty and chastity (figured in the person of *Byrrhena*) as immoderate mirth. He gives a loose to his vicious appetite for *Pleasure* and *Magic*: and the crimes and follies into which they lead him soon ends in his transformation to a BRUTE.

This contrivance of the introductory part is artful; and finely insinuates the great moral of the piece, THAT BRUTALITY ATTENDS VICE AS IT'S PUNISHMENT: and punishment by actual transformation was keeping up to the popular opinion^b. His making a passion for *Magic* contribute to this dreadful change is no less ingenious, as it cleared both *himself* and the *Mysteries* from that imputation; for it appeared that *Magic* was so far from being innocent, that in his opinion, it was attended with the severest punishment; so far from being encouraged by the *Mysteries*, that they only could relieve men from the distresses which this vicious curiosity brought upon it's votaries; as is shewn by the catastrophe of the Piece.

^a P. 51.^b See B. iii. Sect. 3.

St. Austin permitted himself to doubt whether Apuleius's account of his change into an Ass was not a true relation.—*Sicut Apuleius, in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente, asinus fieret, AUT INDICAVIT aut finxit*^c. I shall say nothing to so extravagant a doubt, but only observe, that it appears from hence, that St. Austin esteemed Apuleius a profligate in his manners, and addicted to the superstitions of *Magic*. And yet it is by no means credible, that he who took so much pains, in a very serious and public way^d, to free himself from these imputations, should afterwards wantonly undo all he had so successfully performed in support of a doubtful reputation, by an unnecessary narrative of his own early debaucheries. But it may be said, that all this happened in his youth; and that his subsequent *Initiations* had purified his manners: But neither will his *APOLOGY* admit of this supposition; for there he expressly insists on the virtue of his youth. “De
 “eloquentia vero, si qua mihi fuisset, neque mirum,
 “neque invidiosum deberet videri, si *ab incunte ævo*
 “unis studiis litterarum ex summis viribus deditus,
 “omnibus aliis spretis voluptatibus *ad hoc ævi*,
 “haud sciam anne super omneis homines impenso
 “labore, diuque noctuque, cum despectu et dispen-
 “dio bonæ valetudinis, eam quæsissem——Quis
 “enim me hoc quidem pacto eloquentior vivat?
 “quippe qui nihil *unquam* cogitavi quod eloqui non
 “auderem. Eundem me aio facundissimum; nam
 “*omne peccatum* semper nefas habui. Eundem dis-
 “ertissimum; quod nullum meum factum vel dictum
 “extet, de quo differere publice non possim^e.”
 What have we then to conclude but that the representation of himself in this *Fable*, under a debauched character, is entirely feigned? Yet still it would be

^c *Civ. Dei*, l. xviii. c. 18.^d His *Apology*.^e P. 6.

as absurd to imagine that a grave and moral Philosopher should chuse to exhibit himself to the public in the odious, and false light of a *Magician* and *Debauchee*; and take a pleasure in dwelling upon the horrors of so detestable a Character, for no other purpose than to amuse and entertain a set of dissolute readers. We must needs therefore go a step further, and conclude that he assumed it only for the sake of the GENERAL MORAL, and the better to carry on his Allegory; which was, to recommend the MYSTERIES as the certain cure for all the DISORDERS OF THE WILL.

This being his end, he was but too much encouraged by the example of the most moral of the ancient Satirists, to particularize the various maladies to which he was applying a remedy. Let this, and his copying only what he found in his original Author, stand for some kind of excuse in a wretched Pagan; and it is the best we have, for all the obscenities with which his Fable abounds.

But to proceed with his plan. Having now shewn himself thoroughly brutalized by his crimes; he goes on to represent at large the miseries of that condition, in a long detail of his misadventures; in the course of which he fell, by turns, under the dominion of every vicious passion; though the incidents are chiefly confined to the mischiefs of unlawful love: And this, with much judgment, as one of the principal ends of the *Mysteries* was to curb and subdue this inordinance, which brings more general and lasting misery upon Mankind than all the other. And as it was the great moral of his piece to shew *that pure religion* (such as a platonic Philosopher esteemed pure) *was the only remedy for human corruption*; so, to prevent the abuse or mistake of this capital Principle, he takes care to inform us, *that an attachment to superstitious and corrupt Religion does but plunge the wretched victim into still greater miseries.* This he
finely

finely illustrates, in the history of his adventures with the BEGGING PRIESTS OF CYBELE; whose enormities are related in the eighth and ninth books; and whose CORRUPT MYSTERIES are intended as a contrast to the PURE RITES OF ISIS: With which, in a very studied description and encomium, he concludes the *Fable*.

In the mean time, matters growing from bad to worse, and Lucius plunged deeper and deeper in the sink of vice, his affairs come to a crisis. For this is one great beauty in the conduct of the *Fable*, that every change of station, while he remains a brute, makes his condition still more wretched and deplorable. And being now (in the *ninth* book) about to perpetrate one of the most shocking enormities; NATURE, though so deeply brutalized, REVOLTS; he abhors the idea of his projected crime; he evades his keepers; he flies to the sea-shore; and, in this solitude, begins to reflect more seriously on his lost condition. This is finely imagined; for we often see men, even after a whole life of horrors, come suddenly to themselves on the hideous aspect of some Monster-vice too frightful even for an hardened Reprobate to bear. Nor is it with less judgment that the Author makes these beginnings of reformation confirmed by solitude; when the unhappy victim of PLEASURE hath broken loose from the companions and partakers of his follies.

And now, a more intimate acquaintance with his hopeless condition obliges him to fly to Heaven for relief. The MOON is in full splendour; and the awful silence of the night inspires him with sentiments of Religion.—“Video præmicantis Lunæ candore
“nimio completum orbem,—nactusque opacæ noctis
“silentiosa secreta, certus etiam SUMMATEM DEAM
“præcipua majestate pollere, resque prorsus humana
“nas ipsius regi providentia, etc.” He then puri-

^f P. 238.

fies himself in the manner prescribed by PYTHAGORAS^g; the Philosopher most addicted to *Initiations* of all the early Sages; as Apuleius, of all the later; and so makes his prayer to the *Moon* or *Isis*; invoking her by her several names of the *Eleusinian Ceres*, the *celestial Venus*, *Diana* and *Proserpine*: when betaking himself to repose, she appears to him in a dream^h. This was not a circumstance of the Fabulist's mere invention. Pausanias tells us "that in Phocis there
 " was a Chapel consecrated to Isis, of all the places
 " of worship, which the Greeks erected to this
 " Egyptian Goddess, by far the most holy: that to
 " this sacred place it was not lawful for any to ap-
 " proach, but such whom the Goddess had invited,
 " and appeared to, in a *Dream*, for that purposeⁱ." Here she appears under that SHINING IMAGE so much spoken of by the *Mystics*, as representing the divine nature in general^k. "Necdum satis con-
 " veram: et ecce pelago medio, venerandos Diis
 " etiam vultus attollens, emergit divina facies, ac
 " dehinc paulatim toto corpore PER LUCIDUM SI-
 " MULACRUM, excusso pelago, ante me constitisse
 " visum est. Ejus mirandam speciem ad vos etiam

^g — meque protinus, purificandi studio, marino lavacro trado: sepiusque submerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum præcipue religioni aptissimum divinus ille *Pythagoras* prodidit—p. 238.

^h Artemidorus says, that for a man to dream that *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, or *Bacchus* appears to him, betokens some extraordinary good fortune to happen to him. Δημήτηρ κὶ Κόρη κὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰακχὸς τοῖς μεμνημένοις ταῖς θεαῖς ἀγαθὸν τι κὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τύχην ἐσόμενον σημαίνουσι. l. iv. c. 44. The ancient ONIROCRITICS, as we have observed, B. iv. Sect. 4. were not founded on the arbitrary fancies of the impostors who professed that art, but on the customs and superstitions of the times, and with a principal reference to the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS and MYSTERIES.

ⁱ Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περὶ τεσσαρὰ κοῖνα ἀπέχει γαδίους περίβολλας, κὶ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν Ἰσιδος ἀγιώτατον ὅποσα Ἕλληνες θεῶν τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ πεποιήνηται. Οὐτε γὰρ πέριόικειν ἐνλαῦθα οἱ Τιθοραεῖς νομίζουσιν, οὔτε ἐσοδος ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἄλλοις γὰρ ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐστίν, οὓς αὖ αὐτὴ προτιμήσασα ἡ Ἴσις καλεῖται σφαῖς δι' ἐνυπνίων. Lib. x. c. 32.

^k See above, p. 335. note (r.)

“ referre

“ referre connitar—Corona multiformis, variis flo-
 “ ribus sublimem distinxerat verticem : cujus media
 “ quidem super fronte *plana rotunditas*, candidum
 “ lumen emicabat. Dextra lævaque fulcis *insurgen-*
 “ *tium viperarum* cohibita, *spicis* etiam *Cerealibus*
 “ desuper porrectis — Et quæ longe longeque etiam
 “ meum confutabat obtutum, *palla* nigerrima, splen-
 “ descens atro nitore ; quæ circum circa remeans, —
 “ per intextam extremitatem, et in ipsa oræ planitie,
 “ *stellæ* dispersæ coruscabant : earumque media se-
 “ mestris Luna flammeos spirabat ignes — Dextera
 “ quidem ferebat *æreum crepitaculum* : cujus per an-
 “ gustam laminam in modum balthei recurvatam,
 “ trajectæ mediæ paucae virgulæ, crispante brachio
 “ tergeminos jactus, reddebant, argutum sonitum¹.”

These several symbolic Attributes, the *lucid Round*,
 the *snakes*, the *ears of corn*, and the *sistrum*, represent
 the tutelar Deities of the *Hecatæan*, *Bacchic*, *Eleusi-*
nian and *Isiac* MYSTERIES. That is, MYSTIC
 RITES IN GENERAL ; for whose sake the allegory
 was invented. As the black Palla in which she is
 wrapped, embroidered with a silver-moon, and stars,
 denotes the TIME, in which the Mysteries were cele-
 brated, namely the dead of NIGHT ; which was so
 constant and inseparable a circumstance, that the au-
 thor calls *initiation*, NOCTIS SOCIETAS.

In her speech to Lucius she gives this extraordi-
 nary account of herself, “ En assum, tuis commota
 “ Lucî precibus, RERUM NATURA PARENS, ele-
 “ mentorum omnium Domina, sæculorum proge-
 “ nies initialis, Summa numinum, Regina manium,
 “ Prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uni-
 “ formis : quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salu-
 “ bria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia nutibus
 “ meis dispenso. Cujus numen unicum, multiformi
 “ specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus venera-

¹ P. 239—40.

“tur orbis—priscaque doctrina pollentes ÆGYPTII,
 “cerimoniis me prorsus PROPRIIS percolentes, ap-
 “pellant vero nomine reginam ISIDEM^m.” This
 was exactly adapted to the design of the *Mysteries*;
 and preparatory to the communication of the ΑΠΟΡ-
 ΡΗΤΑ. It had likewise this further use, to patch up
 and recommend the PAGAN RELIGIONS; by shew-
 ing that their *Polytheism* consisted in nothing else than
 in giving the SUPREME GOD various NAMES, merely
 expressive of his various ATTRIBUTES. This was
 the fashionable colouring, which, after the appear-
 ance of Christianity, the advocates of paganism em-
 ployed to blanch their IDOLATRY. I will only ob-
 serve further, that the words, *Ægyptii ceremoniis me*
prorsus propriis percolentes, insinuate, what was true,
 that all MYSTERIOUS WORSHIP came first from
 ÆGYPT; this people having penetrated furthest into
 the nature of the Gods: As the calling HER, who
 represents the *Mysteries in general*, RERUM NATURA
 PARENS, shews plainly what were the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ of
 them all.

PARENT NATURE then reveals to Lucius the means
 of his recovery. Her festival was on the following day;
 when there was to be a Procession of her Votaries.
 The Priest who led it up (she told him) would have
 a chaplet of ROSES in his hand, which had the virtue
 to restore him to his former shape. But as breaking
 through a habit of vice is, of all things, the most
 difficult; she adds encouragements to her promises,
 “nec quidquam rerum mearum reformides, ut ar-
 “duum. Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi
 “venio, simul et ibi PRÆSENS, quæ sunt consequen-
 “tia sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda præcipioⁿ.”
 Alluding to what was taught in the *Mysteries*, that
 the *assistance of Heaven* was always *present* to second
 the efforts of virtue. But in return for the favour of

^m P. 241.ⁿ P. 242.

releasing him from his brutal shape, i. e. of reforming his manners by *Initiation*, she tells him she expected the service of his whole life; And this, the *Mysteries* required: Nor should her service (she said) go unrewarded, for he should have a place in ELYSIUM hereafter; And this, too, the *Mysteries* promised.

“Plane memineris, et penita mente conditum semper tenebis, *mibi reliqua vitæ tuæ curricula*, ad
 “usque terminos ultimi spiritus *vadata*. Nec injurium, cujus beneficio redieris ad homines ei totum
 “debere quod vives. Vives autem *beatus*, vives, in
 “mea tutela, *gloriosus*: et cum spatium seculi tui
 “permenfus ad inferos demearis; ibi quoque in ipso
 “subterraneo semirotondo, me, quam vides Acherontis tenebris interlucentem, stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, CAMPOS ELYSIOS *incolens ipse*,
 “tibi propitiam frequens adorabis ^p.”

Lucius is at length confirmed in his resolution of *aspiring* to a life of virtue. And on this change of his dispositions, and intire conquest of his passions, the Author finely represents all Nature as putting on a new face of chearfulness and gaiety. “Tanta hilaritudine præter peculiarem meam gestire mihi
 “cuncta videbantur; ut pecua etiam cujuscemodi,
 “et totas domos, et ipsum diem serena facie gaudere
 “sentirem ^p.” And to enjoy Nature, in these her best conditions, was the boasted privilege of the *Initiated*, as we may see from a Chorus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes ^q.

And now the Procession, in honour of Isis, begins. Where by the way, we must observe, that the *two first days* of the celebration of the *Eleusinian Mysteries* are plainly described: the one called ΑΓΥΡΜΟΣ, from the multitude assembled; the other

^q P. 242.

P P. 243.

^q Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἤλιϑ
 Καὶ φέγγϑ ἰλαρόν ἐστιν
 Ὅσοι μεμνημεθ'—Αἶτ. i.

ΑΛΑΣΕ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ, from the Procession made to the sea-shore. “Tunc influunt *Turbæ* sacris divinis initiationæ^r—jam *ripam maris* proximamus^s.” The Priest or Hierophant of the Rites leads up the train of the Initiated with a garland of Roses in his hand. Lucius approaches, devours the Roses, and, according to the promise of the Goddess, is restored to his native Form: by which, as we have said, no more was meant than a change of Manners, from vice to virtue. And this the author plainly intimates by making the Goddess thus address him under his brutal Figure, “*pestimæ mihi que detestabilis jamdudum beluæ istius corio te protinus exue*.” For an Afs was so far from being *detestable*, that it was employed in the celebration of her rites; and was ever found in the retinue of Osiris or Bacchus. The *garland* plainly represents that which the aspirants were crowned with at their *initiation*; just as the *virtue* of the Roses designs the *Mysteries*. At his transformation he had been told, that ROSES were to restore him to Humanity: so that, amid’ all his adventures, he had still this remedy in view. Particularly in a circumstance of great distress, he met with a species of them called *rosa laurea*; but on examining its properties, he found that, instead of a restorative, it was a deadly poison to all kind of cattle—“*quarum cuncto pecori cibus lethalis est*.” Who can doubt then, but by this *rose-laurel* was meant all *debauched, magical, and corrupt Mysteries*, such as those of the SYRIAN GODDESS, whose Ministers he represents in so abominable a light^u; in opposition to what he calls “*sobriæ religionis observatio*.” and in those Rites, *initiation* was so far from promoting a life of virtue, that it plunged the deluded Votary into still greater miseries. These *emblematic Roses* were not of our author’s invention. For

^r P. 245.^s P. 249.^t P. 242.^u L. viii. p. 174.

the ROSE, amongst the Ancients, was a symbol of SILENCE, the requisite quality of the *Initiated*. And therefore the statues of Isis or Diana Multimammea, (images consecrated to the use of the *Mysteries*) are crowned with chaplets of Roses; designing what we now mean, when we say, in proverbial speech, UNDER THE ROSE.

Our Author proceeds to tell us, that the people wondered at this instantaneous Metamorphosis. *Populi mirantur, religiosi venerantur* tam evidentem maximi numinis potentiam—et facilitatem reformationis^w. For the *Mysteries* boasted the power of giving a sudden and entire change to the mind and affections: And the advocates of Paganism against Christianity used to oppose this boast to the real and miraculous efficacy of GRACE.

As soon as Lucius had recovered the integrity of his nature, by *initiation*, the Priest covers him, naked as he was, with a LINEN garment^x. A habit always bestowed upon the Aspirant, on his admission to the *Mysteries*; the *rationale* of which, Apuleius himself gives us in his *Apology*^y.

When all was over, the Priest accosts his Penitent in the following manner. “Multis et variis exant-
“ latis laboribus, magnisque Fortunæ tempestatibus,
“ et maximis actus procellis, ad portum quietis et
“ *aram Misericordiæ* tandem, Lucî venisti: nec tibi
“ natales, ac ne dignitas quidem vel ipsa, qua flores,
“ usquam doctrina profuit: sed lubrico virentis æta-
“ tulæ, ad serviles delapsus voluptates, CURIOSITATIS

^w P. 247,—8.

^x Sed sacerdos, utcumque divino monitu cognitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis, quamquam et ipse insigni permotus miraculo, nunc significato prius præcipit, tegendo mihi LINTEAM dari LACINI-AM, p. 248.

^y Lana segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta, jam inde Orphei et Pythagoræ scitis, profanus vestitus est. Sed enim mundissima LINI seges, inter optimas fruges terræ exorta non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Ægyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque in rebus sacris usurpatur. *Apol.* p. 64.

“ IMPROSPERÆ finistram præmium reportasti. Sed
 “ utrinque Fortunæ cæcitas dum te pessimis periculis
 “ discrutiat, *ad religiosam istam habitudinem improvi-*
 “ *da* produxit malitia. Eat nunc, et summo furore
 “ sæviat, et crudelitati suæ materiam quærat aliam.
 “ Nam in eorum vitas, *quorum sibi servitium Deæ*
 “ *nostræ majestas vindicavit, non habet locum casus in-*
 “ *festus.* Quid latrones, quid feræ, quid servitium,
 “ quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocæ,
 “ quid metus mortis quotidianæ nefariæ Fortunæ
 “ profuit? in tutelam jam receptus es FORTUNÆ,
 “ *sed* VIDENTIS; *quæ* SUÆ LUCIS SPLENDORE *ceteros*
 “ *etiam deos illuminat.* Sume jam vultum lætiores,
 “ *candido isto habitu tuo* congruentem; comitare
 “ pompam Deæ SOSPITATRICIS innovanti gradu;
 “ VIDEANT IRRELIGIOSI: VIDEANT, ET ERROREM
 “ SUUM RECOGNOScant. En ecce pristinis ærum-
 “ nis absolutus, ISIDIS *magnæ* PROVIDENTIA gau-
 “ *dens Lucius de sua fortuna triumphat*.”

Here the MORAL OF THE FABLE is delivered in plain terms; and, in this *moral*, all we have advanced, concerning the purpose of the work, fully confirmed. It is expressly declared, that VICE and inordinate CURIOSITY were the causes of Lucius's disasters; from which the only relief was INITIATION into the MYSTERIES. Whereby the Author would insinuate, that nothing was more abhorrent from those holy rites than DEBAUCHERY and MAGIC; the two enormities they were then commonly suspected to encourage.

It hath been observed above, that, by Lucius's return to his proper Form, was meant his *initiation*; and accordingly, that return is called, (as *initiation* was) *the being born again*—ut RENATUS quodammodo, and—sua providentia quodammodo RENATOS; but this was only to the LESSER, not the GREATER *mysteries*. The first was to *purify* the mind; hence

it was called by the Ancients, Κακίας ἀφαίρεσις, a *separation from evil*: the *second* was to enlighten it, when purified, and to bring it to the knowledge of divine secrets, as Hierocles speaks, ἔπειτα ὅτω ἐπιβάλλει τῇ τῶν θειοτέρων γνώσει. Hence they named the one ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΝ, and the other ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ, PURIFICATION and PERFECTION. The *first* is here represented in the incident of Lucius's being restored to humanity by the use of *roses*: The *second*, as the matter of chief importance, the Author treats more circumstantially.

He begins with making the Priest take occasion, from the benefit already received, to press Lucius to enter into the GREATER MYSTERIES of Isis. “ Quo
 “ tibi tamen tutior sis, atque munitior; da nomen
 “ huic *sanctæ militiæ*, cujus olim sacramento etiam
 “ lætaberis; teque jam nunc obsequio religionis
 “ nostræ dedica, et ministerii jugum subi voluntari-
 “ um. Nam, cum cæperis Deæ servire, tunc magis
 “ senties fructum tuæ libertatis^a.” But at the same time makes him inform the Candidate, that nothing was to be precipitated: for that not only many previous Rites and Ceremonies, concerning religious diet, and abstinence from prophane food, were to be observed; but that the Aspirants to these *higher Mysteries* were to wait for A CALL. “ Quippe cum avi-
 “ ditati contumaciæque summè cavere, et utramque
 “ culpam vitare, ac neque vocatus morari, nec non
 “ jussus festinare deberem. Nec tamen esse quem-
 “ quam de suo numero tam perditæ mentis, vel
 “ immo destinatæ mortis, qui non sibi quoque se-
 “ orsum, jubente Domina, temerarium atque sacrile-
 “ gum audeat ministerium subire, noxamque letalem
 “ contrahere. Nam et infêrum claustra, et salutis
 “ tutelam in Deæ manu posita ipsamque traditionem
 “ ad instar voluntariæ mortis et præcariæ salutis cele-

^a P, 249.

“brari ^b.” Accordingly, he is initiated into the GREATER MYSTERIES. The ceremony is described at large ^c; and we find it to agree exactly with what, we have shewn, other ancient writers more professedly deliver concerning it.

The Author, by the doubts and apprehensions which retarded his *initiation*, first gives us to understand, that the highest degree of sanctity was required of those who entered into the *Mysteries*.—“At ego, quamquam cupienti voluntate præditus, tamen religiosa formidine retinebar. Quod enim sedulo percontaveram, *difficile religionis obsequium, et castimoniorum abstinentiam satis arduam, cautoque circumspectu vitam, quæ multis casibus subjacet, esse muniendam* ^d.” These difficulties now surmounted, he is *initiated* with the accustomed Ceremonies. He then makes his Prayer, in which the grand ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ of the *Mysteries* is still ^e more plainly referred to. “Tu quidem sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua, semper fovendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris affectionem miserorum casibus tribuis.—TE SUPERIOR COLUNT; OBSERVANT INFERIOR; TU ROTAS ORBEM; LUMINAS SOLEM; REGIS MUNDUM; CALCAS TARTARUM; TIBI RESPONDENT SIDERA ^f; GAUDENT LUMINA; REDEUNT TEMPORA; SERVIUNT ELEMENTA: TUO NUTU SPIRANT FLAMINA; NUTRIUNTUR NUBILA; GERMINANT SEMINA; CRESCUNT GERMINA; TUAM MAJESTATEM PERHORRESCUNT AVES COELO MEANTES; FERÆ MONTIBUS ER-

^b P. 253—4.

^c P. 255—6—7.

^d P. 252.

^e See the quotation above.—*Fortunæ Videntis, quæ suæ lucis splendore ceteros etiam Deos illuminat.*

^f *Respondent sidera.* This, I suppose, relates to the music of the spheres. The image is noble and sublime. It is taken from the consent in the lyre, to answer to, and obey the hand of the Master who had put them into tune.

“RANTES; SERPENTES SOLO LATENTES; BELUÆ
“PONTO NATANTES^g.”

The affair thus over, and the honour attendant on initiation into the greater *Mysteries* being marked out in the words—*cominabar sacrarium; totæ civitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis^h*; the Author, in the next place, takes occasion, agreeably to his real practice and opinions, to recommend a MULTIPLICITY OF INITIATIONS. He tells us how *Isis* counselled him to enter into the *Mysteries* of *Osiris*: how, after that, she invited him to a third initiation: and then rewarded him for his accumulated Piety with an abundance of temporal Blessings.

All this considered, we can no longer doubt but that the true design of his work was to recommend INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES, IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW RELIGION. We see the Catastrophe of the piece, the whole Eleventh Book, entirely taken up with it; and composed with the greatest seriousness and superstition.

And, surely, nothing could be better conceived, to recommend the *Mysteries*, than the idea of such a plan; or better contrived than his execution of it. In which, he omits no circumstance that might be plausibly opposed to CHRISTIANITY; or that might recommend the MYSTERIES with advantage to the Magistrate's protection: as where he tells us, that in these Rites, *they prayed for the prosperity of all Orders in the STATE*—*fausta vota præfatus principi magno, senatuique et equiti, totique populo romano.*”

This interpretation will throw new light on every part of the GOLDEN ASS. But I have been so long upon the subject, that I have only time to give one instance; and this, chiefly because it reflects light back again on my general interpretation of the Fable.

^g P. 257—8.

^h P. 249.

In the fifth and sixth books is the long episode of CUPID and PSYCHE; visibly allegorical throughout; and entirely foreign to all the rest of the work, considered as a mere Milesian fable; but very applicable to the Writer's purpose, if he had that moral to inculcate which we have here assigned unto him.

There was no man, though he regarded the *golden Ass* as a thing of mere amusement, but saw that the story of CUPID and PSYCHE was a *philosophic allegory of the progress of the soul to perfection, in the possession of divine love and the reward of immortality*. The Amour of Cupid and Psyche was a subject which lay in common amongst the Platonic writers. And every one fashioned this agreeable fiction (as our Author has done here) according to the doctrines he had to convey under it. By this means it could not but become famous. The remaining monuments of ancient sculpture convince us that it was very famous; in which, nothing is so common as the figures of CUPID and PSYCHE in the various circumstances of their adventures. Now we have shewn at large, that the professed end of the *Mysteries*, in the later ages of their celebrity, was to restore the soul to it's ORIGINAL RECTITUDE, and, in every age, to encourage good men with the promises of *happiness in another life*. The fable, therefore, of *Cupid and Psyche*, in the fifth and sixth books, was the finest and most artful preparative for the subject of the eleventh, which treats professedly of the *Mysteries*.

But if we look more nearly into this beautiful Fable, we shall find that, besides it's general purpose, it has one more particular. We have observed that the *corrupt state* of the *Mysteries*, in the time of Apuleius, was one principal reason of his undertaking their apology. These corruptions were of two kinds, DEBAUCHERIES and MAGIC. Their *debaucheries* have been taken notice of above. Their MAGIC was of three sorts: 1. The Magic of invocation or
NECRO-

NECROMANCY. 2. The Magic of transformation or METAMORPHOSIS. 3. And the Magic of divine communication under a visible appearance or THEÛRGY. The ORACULAR RESPONSES, introduced late into the *Mysteries*, seem to have given birth to the first: The Doctrine of the METEMPSYCHOSIS taught therein, to the second: and the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ concerning the DIVINE NATURE, to the third. The abomination of the two first sorts was seen by all, and frankly given up as criminal: but the fanatic Platonists and Pythagoreans of the latter ages, espousing the third, occasioned it to be held in credit and reverence. So that, as Heliodorus tells us, the Egyptian priests (between whose fanaticism and that of the Platonists there was, at this time, a kind of coalition¹) affected to distinguish between the MAGIC of *Necromancy* and the magic of *Theûrgy*; accounting the first infamous and wicked; but the last very fair, and even commendable. For now both those philosophic Enthusiasts had their *mysterious Rites*, which consisted in the practice of this THEÛRGIC MAGIC. These were the *Mysteries*, to observe it by the way, of which the Emperor Julian was so fond, that he placed his principal felicity (as the Christians placed his principal crime) in their celebration. But our Author, who had imbibed his Platonism, not at the muddy streams of those late Fanatics, but at the pure fountain-head of the Academy itself, well understood how much this superstition, with all its plausible pretences, had polluted the *Mysteries*; and, therefore, as in the course of the adventures of his *golden Ass*, he had stigmatized the two other kinds of *Magic*, he composed this celebrated tale (hitherto so little understood) to expose the Magic of THEÛRGY. It is, as we said, a *philosophic Allegory of the progress of the Soul to perfection, in the possession of Divine Love and the reward of immortality*, delivered in the adventures of

¹ See Book iii. Sect. iv. towards the end.

PSYCHE, or the *Soul*: whose various labours and traverses in this *Progress*, are all represented as the effects of her indiscreet passion for that species of *magic* called THEÛRGY.

To understand this, we must observe, that the fanatic Platonists, in their pursuit of the SUPREME GOOD, the *Union with the Deity*, made the completion and perfection of it to consist in the *Theurgic Vision* of the "Αυτοπλον Αγαλμα or SELF-SEEN IMAGE, i. e. seen by the splendour of its own light. Now the story tells us, there were three Sisters, the youngest of whom was called PSYCHE; by which we are to understand, the *three peripatetic souls*, the *sensitive*, the *animal*, and the *rational*; or in other words, *sense*, *appetite*, and *reason*; that the beauty of *Psyche* or the *rational Soul*, was so divine, that men forsook the altars of the Gods to follow and worship her, according to the ancient aphorism,

Nullum Numen abest, si sit PRUDENTIA.

She is contracted to, and possesses the *celestial Cupid* or DIVINE LOVE; who cohabits with her INVISIBLY, amidst all kinds of pleasure and delights. In the mean time her Sisters, envious of her superior situation, take advantage of the God's *invisibility* to perplex her with a thousand doubts and scruples; which end in exciting her *curiosity* to get a SIGHT of her lover. By which the Author seems to insinuate that they are the irregular passions and appetites which stir up men's curiosity to this species of *magic*, the THEÛRGIC VISION. *Psyche* is deluded by them, and, against the express injunction of the God, who calls it SACRILEGA CURIOSITAS, attempts this *forbidden sight*. She satisfies her appetite, and is undone. *Divine love* forsakes her; the *scenes of pleasure* vanish; and she finds herself forlorn and abandoned; surrounded with miseries, and pursued with the vengeance of Heaven. In this distress she comes to the Temples of

of CERES and JUNO, and seeks protection of those Deities; by which is meant, men's having recourse to their *Mysteries*, against the evils and disasters of life; as is plainly marked in the reason given for her application—"nec ullam vel dubiam SPEI MELIORIS viam volens omittere"^m.—They both deny her admittance, which intimates that the *purser Mysteries* discouraged all kind of *Magic*, even the most specious. In a word, after a long and severe repentance and penance, in which the Author seems to have shadowed out the trials and labours undergone by the Aspirants to the *Mysteries*, she is pardoned and restored to the favour of Heaven. She is put again into possession of DIVINE LOVE, and rewarded with the prerogative of IMMORTALITY.

There are many other circumstances in this fine Allegory equally serving to the end here explained: as there are others which allude to divers beautiful platonic notions, foreign to the present discourse. It is enough that we have pointed to its chief, and peculiar purpose; which it was impossible to see while the nature and design of the whole Fable lay undiscovered.

But now perhaps it may be said, "That all this is very well. An Allegory is here found for the GOLDEN ASS, which, it must be owned, fits the Fable. But still it may be asked, Was it indeed made for it? Did the Author write the tale for the moral; or did the Critic find the moral for the tale? For an Allegory may be drawn from almost any story: and they have been often made for Authors who never thought of them. Nay, when a rage of allegorizing happens to prevail, as it did a century or two ago, the Author himself will be tempted or obliged, as well as the Commentator, to encourage this delusion. *Ariosto* and *Tasso*, writers of the highest

^m P. 112.

reputation, one of whom composed after the *Gothic Romances*, as the other did from the *Classic*, without ever concerning themselves with any other moral than what the natural circumstances of the Fable conveyed; yet, to secure the success of their works, they submitted, in compliance to fashion and false taste, to the ridiculous drudgery of inventing a kind of posthumous Allegory, and sometimes more than one; that the reader himself might season their Fables to his own taste. As this has been the case, To shew that I neither impose upon myself nor others, I have reserved the Author's own declaration of his having an *Allegoric meaning*, for the last confirmation of my system. It is in these words,

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio
 Varias Fabulas conseram, auresque tuas
 Benevolas lepidò susurro permulceam;
 Modo si PAPYRUM ÆGYPTIAM ARGUTIA
 NILOTICI CALAMI INSCRIPTAM, non spreveris
 Inspicere ⁿ—

A direct insinuation of it's being replete with the profound *Ægyptian wisdom*; of which, that Nation, by the invention of the MYSTERIES, had conveyed so considerable a part to the *Greeks*.

Before I totally dismiss this matter it may not be improper to observe, that both VIRGIL, and APULLEIUS have represented the genuine MYSTERIES, as Rites of perfect sanctity and purity; and recommended only such to their Countrymen; while they expose impure and impious Rites to the public execration; for it was their purpose to stigmatize the reigning corruptions, and to recommend the ancient sanctity. On the other hand, a man attached by his office to the recommendation of the *Mysteries*, as then practised, was to do the best he could, when

ⁿ In init. Fab.

deprived of the benefit of this distinction; and was to endeavour to give fair colours to the foulest things. This was the case of JAMBlichus. His friend *Porphyry* had some scruples on this head. He doubts whether those Rites could come from the Gods, which admitted such a mixture of lewdness and impurity. Such a mixture *Jamblichus* confesses; but, at the same time, endeavours to account for their divine original, by shewing, that they are only the emblems of natural Truths; or a kind of moral purgation of the inordinate passions^o. You will say, he might have given a better answer; That they were *modern* abuses and corruptions. He asks your pardon for that. Such a confession would have been condemning his own Platonic fanaticism; that very fanaticism which had brought in these abominations. He was reduced therefore to the necessity of admitting that they were no after-corruptions, but coeval with the Rites themselves. And this admission of so learned a Hierophant, is, as far as I am able to collect, the only support which any one can now have for saying, that *the Mysteries were impure and abominable even from their first Institution.*

Hitherto we have considered the Legislator's care in perpetuating the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. And if I have been longer than ordinary on this head, my excuse is, that the topic was new^p, and the doctrine itself,

^o De mysteriis, Sect. i. cap. xi.

^p A well-known writer, Mr. Jackson, (not to speak at present of Others of a later date) who had long and scurrilously railed at the author of the D. L. in a number of miserable pamphlets, hath at length thought fit in a Thing, called *Chronological antiquities*, to borrow from this book, without any acknowledgment, all he had to give the public concerning the pagan MYSTERIES; and much, concerning the HIEROGLYPHICS and *origin of idolatry*. But this is the common practice of such sort of writers: and is only mentioned here to shew the reader to what class they belong. The treatment these volumes have met with from some

itself, which is the main subject of the present inquiry, much interested in it.

A very remarkable circumstance (for which we are indebted to the observation of modern travellers) may convince us, that Rulers and Governors cultivated the belief of this doctrine with a more than common assiduity. Many barbarous nations have been discovered in these later times, on the coasts of Africa, which, in the distractions of Government, and transigrations of People, have, it is probable, fallen from a *civilized* to a *savage* state of life. These are found to have little or no knowledge of a God, or observance of Religion. And yet, which is a surprising paradox, they still retain the settled belief and expectation of a FUTURE STATE. A wonder to be accounted for no other way than by what hath been said above of the Legislator's principal concern for the support of this Doctrine; and of the deep root, which by it's agreeable nature, it takes in the Mind, wherever it has been once received. So that though, as it hath been observed, *no Religion ever existed without the doctrine of a Future State*, yet the doctrine of a Future State hath, it seems, sometimes existed without a Religion.

of the most worthless of my Countrymen, made me think it expedient to contrast their behaviour with that of the most learned and respectable foreign Divines and Critics of France, Germany, and Holland, in their animadversions on this work, occasionally inserted in the notes.

A P P E N D I X.

WE have seen with what art, and care in contrivance, the Sages of the GENTILE World endeavoured, by the intervention of the MYSTERIES, to prevent the memory of THE FIRST CAUSE of all things from being totally obliterated from the minds of men; while the perverse constitution of the National Idolatries prevented the true God's being received into any PUBLIC Worship. To the SECRET of the *Mysteries* it was, that these Pseudo-Evangelists invited their more capable Disciples, awfully admonishing them *to give heed unto it, as unto a light shining in a dark place.* For it was no more than such a glimmering, till the *rising of the day-star* of the Gospel, in the *hearts* of the Faithful.

But if the late noble Author of THE FIRST PHILOSOPHY deserves credit; all this care was as absurd as it was fruitless.

The Institutors of the *Mysteries* imparted this SECRET, as the true and only solid foundation of RELIGION: for the FIRST CAUSE was, in their ideas, a God whose ESSENCE indeed was incomprehensible, but his ATTRIBUTES, as well moral as natural, discoverable by human reason. Such a God was wanted for that foundation: for *unassisted* reason taught them, as, in its most *assisted* state, it had taught St. PAUL, *That he who cometh to God, must believe that he is; and that he is a REWARDER of them who diligently seek him.* Thus Plato, in his *Book of Laws* speak

speaking of Religion, and it's use to civil Society, says, "It is not of small consequence, that what we here reason about the Gods, should, by all means and methods, be made probable; as that they ARE, and that they are GOOD^a." Hence, tho' their mistaken *mode* of teaching deprived the pagan world of the *fruit* of the Doctrine, the purpose however was laudable and rational.

But now comes a modern Sage^b,——PHILOSOPHER and STATESMAN like the Ancient, (in all things else how unlike!) who tells us "that they made the Basis of Religion far too wide: that men have no further concern with God than TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS, which his *physical Attributes* make fully manifest: but, That he is *a rewarder of them who diligently seek him*, Religion doth not require us to believe, since this depends on God's MORAL ATTRIBUTES, of which we have no conception." In this manner, by the turn of a hand, hath our Noble Philosopher changed *Natural Religion* into NATURALISM; and made this care of the ancient Sages as ridiculously conceived as it was ineffectually prosecuted.

But to do justice to the weak endeavours of those Friends and Servants of Mankind, who surely deserve a grateful memory with Posterity, I shall take the liberty to examine his Lordship's reasoning on this branch of his FIRST PHILOSOPHY; which casts so malignant a shade over the whole religious World.

He pretends to prove *That we have NO ADEQUATE ideas of God's moral attributes, his GOODNESS and JUSTICE, as we have of his natural, his Wisdom and Power.* Here let me observe, that his Lordship uses the words, *inadequate ideas*, and, *no ideas*, as terms of the same import. And I think, not improperly.

^a ὡς θεοὶ τ' εἰσι, καὶ ἀγαθοί.

^b Lord Bolinbroke.

I have therefore followed him in the indifferent use of either expression. For the reason of his calling our ideas of God's *moral attributes* INADEQUATE, is, because he denies that goodness and justice in God, and goodness and justice amongst Men, are the same IN KIND. But if not the *same in kind*, we can have NO IDEA of them; because we have no idea of any *other kind* of goodness and justice.

He lays down these three Propositions.

1. That, by METAPHYSICS, or by reasoning *a priori*, we can gain no knowledge of God at all.

2. That our knowledge of his *Attributes* are to be acquired only by a contemplation on his WORKS, or by the reasoning *a posteriori*.

3. That in *this* way, we can only arrive at the knowledge of his NATURAL Attributes, not of his MORAL.

“ It is from the CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD
“ ALONE (says his Lordship) and from the state of
“ mankind in it, that we can *acquire any ideas* of the
“ divine attributes, or a *right to affirm any thing*
“ *about them*.”

“ The knowledge of the Creator is, on many ac-
“ counts, necessary to such a creature as man: and
“ therefore we are made able to arrive by a proper
“ exercise of our mental faculties, *from a knowledge*
“ *of God's works to a knowledge of his existence*, and
“ of that infinite POWER and WISDOM which are de-
“ monstrated to us in them. OUR KNOWLEDGE
“ CONCERNING GOD GOES NO FURTHER^d.”

“ Artificial Theology connects by very problema-
“ tical reasoning *a priori*, MORAL ATTRIBUTES, such
“ as we conceive them, and such as they are rela-
“ tively to us, with the *physical attributes* of God;
“ tho' there be no sufficient foundation for this pro-

^c Vol. v. p. 331.

^d Vol. iv. p. 86.

“ceeding, nay, tho’ *the phenomena are in several cases repugnant*.”

Having thus assured us that the ideas of God’s *moral attributes* are to be got by no consequential reasoning at all, either *a priori* or *a posteriori*, the two only ways we have to knowledge; He rightly concludes, that if Man hath such ideas, they were not FOUND but INVENTED by him. And therefore, that nothing might be wanting to the full dilucidation of this curious point, he acquaints us who were the Authors of the FICTION, and how strangely the thing came about.

“Some of the Philosophers (says his Lordship) having been led by a more full and accurate contemplation of Nature to the knowledge of a supreme self-existent Being of infinite *power and wisdom*, and the first Cause of all things, were not contented with this degree of knowledge. They MADE A SYSTEM of God’s MORAL as well as *physical* ATTRIBUTES, BY WHICH TO ACCOUNT FOR THE PROCEEDINGS OF HIS PROVIDENCE^e.”

These Philosophers then, it seems, invented the system of God’s *moral attributes*, in order to account for the difficulties arising from the view of God’s *moral government*. If the World till now had been so dull as to have no conception of these Attributes; his Lordship’s Philosophers, we see, made amends; who were so quick witted to conceive, and so sharp sighted to find out, the obliquities of a *crooked* line before they had got any idea of a *straight* one. For just to this, neither more nor less, does his Lordship’s observation amount, that——*they made a System of God’s moral attributes, by which to account for the proceedings of his Providence*. Till now, none of us could conceive how any doubts concerning *moral Government* could arise but on the previous ideas of

^e Vol. v. p. 316.

^f Vol. iv. p. 48.

the *moral attributes* of the Governor. This invention of his Lordship's old Philosophers puts me in mind of an ingenious Modern, the curious SANCHO PANCHA; who, as his historian tells us, was very inquisitive to discover the author of that very useful invention we call SLEEP: for, with this worthy Magistrate, Sleep and good Cheer were the FIRST PHILOSOPHY. Now the things sought after by Sancho and his Lordship, were at no great distance; for if *Sleeping* began when men first shut their eyes, it is certain the *idea of God's Goodness* appeared as soon as ever they opened them.

Dr. Clarke's Demonstration of the *moral attributes a priori*, I shall leave, as his Lordship is pleased to do, in all it's force. If the Doctor's followers think their Master's honour concerned, where his arguments are not, they have a large field and a safe to shew their prowess. I rather chuse to undertake the NOBLE PHILOSOPHER on his own terms, without any other arms than the arguments *a posteriori*. For he is such a Champion for the good Cause, that he not only appoints his Adversaries the Field, but prescribes to them the use of their weapons.

But his Lordship, like other great men, is not easily approached; and when he is, not always fit to be seen. You catch his FIRST PHILOSOPHY, as Butler's Hero did Aristotle's FIRST MATTER, *undressed, and without a rag of form*; however flaunting and fluttering in FRAGMENTS. To speak plainly, his Lordship's entire neglect or ignorance of Method betrays him into endless *repetitions*: and, in these, whether for want of precision in his ideas, propriety in his terms, or art in his composition, the question is perpetually changing; and rarely without being new-covered by an equivocal expression. If you add to this, the perpetual *contradictions* into which he falls, either by defect of memory, excess of passion, or distress of argument, you will allow it to be no easy matter

matter to take him fairly, to know him fully, and to represent him to the best advantage: in none of which offices would I be willingly defective. Indeed, when you have done this, the business is over; and his Lordship's reasoning generally confutes itself.

When I reflect upon what this hath cost me, the reading over two or three bulky volumes to get possession of a single argument; which now you think you hold, and then again you lose; which meets you full when you least expect it; and slips away from you the very moment it promises to do most: when, I say, I reflect upon all this, I cannot but lament the hard luck of the *English* CLERGY, who, tho' apparently least fit, as being made Parties; certainly the least concerned as there is nothing that can impose on a Scholar, tho' a great deal that may mislead the People, are likely to be the men most engaged with his Lordship in this controversy. Time was, when if a Writer had a disposition to seek objections against Religion, tho' he found them hardly, and urged them heavily, yet he would digest his thoughts, and methodize his reasoning. The Clergy had then nothing to do but to answer him, if they found themselves able. But since this slovenly custom (as Lord SHAFTSBURY calls it) has got amongst our Free-thinkers, of *taking their physic in public*, of throwing about their loose and crude indigestions under the name of FRAGMENTS, things which in their very name imply not so much the *want*, as the *exclusion* of all *form*, the Advocate of Religion has had a fine time of it: he must work them into consistence, he must mould them into shape, before he can safely lay hold of them himself, or present them handsomely to the Public. But these Gentlemen have provided that a Clergyman should never be idle. All, he had of old to attend, was the saving the souls of those committed to his care. He must now begin his work a great deal higher; he must first convince his flock that

that they have souls to be saved. And the spite of all is, that at the same time his kind masters have doubled his task, they appear very well disposed to lessen his wages.

We have observed, that the DENIAL of God's *moral attributes* is the great barrier against Religion in general: but it is more especially serviceable in his Lordship's idiosyncratic terrors; the terrors of a *future State*. To these we owe his famous book of FRAGMENTS, composed occasionally, and taken as an extemporaneous cordial, each stronger than the other, to support himself under his frequent paroxysms. For, set the *moral attributes* aside, and we can neither form any judgment of the *end* of man, nor of the *nature* of God's government. All our knowledge will be confined to our *present* state and condition^s. It is by the *moral attributes*, we learn, that man was made for *happiness*; and that God's dispensation to us *here* is but *part* of a general system: This naturally extends our views to, and terminates our knowledge in, *Futurity*.

The fate of all Religion therefore being included in the question of God's *moral attributes*, I hold it of much importance to prove against his Lordship, that MEN MAY ACQUIRE ADEQUATE IDEAS OF THEM in the same way, and with equal certainty, in which they acquire the knowledge of God's *natural attributes*: And the knowledge of these latter his Lordship deduces from its original in the following words.

“ All our knowledge of God (says he) is derived
“ from his works. Every part of the immense Uni-
“ verse, and the order and harmony of the Whole,
“ are not only conformable to our ideas or notions
“ of WISDOM and POWER, but these ideas and no-

^s One of his Lordship's Corollaries therefore from the Proposition of *no moral attributes*, is this, “ Our Knowledge concerning
“ God goes no further than for the necessary use of human life.”
Vol. iv. p. 486.

“ tions were impressed originally and principally by
 “ them, on every attentive mind; and men were led
 “ to conclude, with the utmost certainty, that a
 “ Being of infinite *wisdom* and *power* made, preserv-
 “ ed, and governed the system. As far as we can
 “ discover, we discern these in all his works; and
 “ where we cannot discern them, it is manifestly due
 “ to our imperfection, not to his. This now is real
 “ knowledge, or there is no such thing as know-
 “ ledge. We acquire it immediately in the objects
 “ themselves, in God, and in Nature, the work of
 “ God. We know what *wisdom* and *power* are: we
 “ know both intuitively, and by the help of our sen-
 “ ses, that such as we conceive them to be, such
 “ they appear in the Work: and therefore we
 “ know demonstratively that such they are in the
 “ Worker^h.”

All this is mighty well: and on these very grounds I undertake to prove that men may get as clear and precise ideas of God's GOODNESS and JUSTICE.

But, to prevent, or, indeed, now things are gone thus far, rather to *redress* all ambiguity in the terms, and equivocation in the use of them; it will be proper to explain what TRUE PHILOSOPHY means by GOD'S WORKS, whether *physical* or *moral*.

Now, it means, if I am not much mistaken, that CONSTITUTION OF THINGS which God hath established, and directed to a plain and obvious end: no regard being had to those impediments or obstructions in it's course, which the Author of nature hath permitted to arise from any part of the *material*, or *intellectual* Creation.

Thus, when we consider his *physical* works, in order to make our estimate of his *wisdom* and *power*, we conceive them as they are in themselves; and in the perfection of their first constitution; tho' the

^h Vol. v. p. 524.

greater portions of the *physical* system may, from the intractability of Matter, be subject to some *inconsiderable irregularities*; which, as the TRUE PHILOSOPHERⁱ observes, *will be apt to increase till this System wants a reformation*: and tho' the smaller Portions of it, such as the bodies of animals, may, from various accidents in their conception and birth, often want that convenient form in the adaption of their parts, from the wonderful contrivance of which, in the various bodies of animals in general, arises so illustrious an evidence of the *wisdom* and *power* of the Creator.

Surely, then, common sense guided by equitable measure requires us to estimate God's *moral Works* on the same standard: to consider what the *moral constitution is in itself*: and (when the question is of God's *goodness* and *justice*) to keep that consideration distinct. And not suffer it to be disturbed by the view of any interruptions occasioned by the perverse influence of the passion or action of material or immaterial Beings. For, here, Both concur to violate the Constitution: In the *natural* system, man's *Free will* hath no place: in the *moral*, the abuse of *Free-will* occasions the greatest of it's disorders.

In prosecuting this question, therefore, As, in order to acquire and confirm our ideas of God's *wisdom* and *power*, we consider the *natural system* so far forth only as it's order and harmony is supported by the *general Laws* of matter and motion: so, in order to acquire and confirm our ideas of his *goodness* and *justice*, we should regard the *moral system* so far forth only as it's order and harmony is supported by that GENERAL LAW, which annexes *happiness to virtue, and to vice, misery, and ruin*.

ⁱ Newton.

Thus much, and only thus much, is *God's Work* in either system: and it is from *God's Work*, he tells us, we are to demonstrate his *Attributes*. The rest, (where disorders real or apparent obtrude themselves to obstruct our views in these discoveries) proceed from *Matter* and *Mind*.

And it is not to be forgotten, that the conclusion, Religionists draw from hence, in support of their *adequate* ideas of God's *moral* attributes, hath the greater strength upon his Lordship's own principles; who holds, that this Constitution arises *solely from the WILL* of God: For then we are sure that the *WILL*, which annexes happiness to virtue, and misery to vice, must arise from God's *moral* rather than from his *physical* nature.

Having premised thus much; no more, indeed, than necessary to obviate one continued *SOPHISM*, which runs thro' all his Lordship's reasonings, against the *moral attributes* (where, the *course and operation of that moral Constitution*, as it appears under the disturbances occasioned by man's free-will, is perpetually put for the *Constitution itself*) I now proceed to shew, that, from *GOD'S WORKS*, we have as precise ideas of his *GOODNESS* and *JUSTICE* as of his *power* and *wisdom*.

His Lordship observes, that *from every part of the immense Universe, and from the harmony of the Whole, men are led to conclude, with the utmost certainty, that a Being of infinite WISDOM and POWER made, preserved, and governed the System*. This, he observes in favour of the *natural* attributes. And what should hinder men from making the same observation in favour of the *moral*, viz. That the happiness and misery b. the very constitution of nature, attendant on Virtue and on Vice, lead men to conclude, with equal certainty, that a Being of infinite *GOODNESS* and *JUSTICE* made, preserves, and governs the system?

The

The existence of this *moral Constitution* in the natural connexion between vice and misery, virtue and happiness, his Lordship amply acknowledges. Let us consider it, therefore, both as it respects BODIES of men, and INDIVIDUALS.

That *Communities*, are always happy or miserable in proportion as their Manners are virtuous or vicious, his Lordship himself is, on all occasions, ready to demonstrate. If such a Constitution of things do not bespeak the Author of it, *good* and *just*, how is it possible to conclude any thing of the character of the Creator, from his WORKS? His Lordship thinks, “that from the marks of wisdom and power in the *physical system* we learn with the utmost certainty that God is *wise* and *powerful*; and he says, that we acquire this knowledge immediately, as it were, by our senses.” Are there not the self-same marks of goodness and justice in this part at least of the *moral system* which respects *Communities*? And do not we come to know as immediately by our senses, and as certainly by our reason, that God is *good* and *just*?

If we consider the *moral Constitution*, as it respects *Particulars*, we see virtue and vice have the same influence on our happiness and misery. Here, indeed, we find more interruptions, in the *means* to the *end*, than in the other part. Our material and our intellectual Natures are here of more force, to disorder the harmony of the System. In *Communities*, it can rarely be disturbed, but by a Pestilence, or that other, moral, Plague, a Hero or a Conqueror. Amongst *Particulars*, indeed, physical evil and the abuse of free-will operate more strongly: But when once the demonstration of the *moral attributes* is clearly made from that part of the Constitution which regards *Communities*, it can never afterwards be shaken by the disorders in that other part which regards *Particulars*. The established truth is now a Principle

for further discoveries ; and all we can fairly deduce from these disorders is the CERTAINTY of a *future State*. But this by the way.

What I insist upon at present is, that, to decide the question concerning God's *Attributes*, we are to consider the Constitution of things, as it is in itself. This is, properly, *God's work*. The disorders in it, occasioned by the abuse of man's *free-will*, is not his work, but man's. This, his Lordship too, upon another occasion, namely, when he combats the argument of a *future state*, from an unequal Providence, is perpetually repeating. So that these disorders must, even on his Lordship's own principles, be excluded from the account, when we estimate God's Nature and *Attributes*, from his *Works*.

“ But we see not those disorders in the *natural* world, which we both see and feel in the *moral*.” This would be some objection did God in the *moral*, as in the *natural* system, direct immediately, or constitute things mechanically ; or had Free-will the same influence on the *natural* as on the *moral* system.— Did God direct, immediately or mechanically in both Constitutions, or did he direct immediately and mechanically in neither, and that yet the *moral* remained more subject to disorder than the *natural*, it might indeed follow that we had not so clear ideas of God's *goodness* and *justice* as of his *wisdom* and *power* : But since He has thought fit to leave man, FREE ; and hath been pleased to suffer the abuse of free will to affect the *moral* system, and not the *natural* ; as this, I say, is the case, the greater irregularities in the *one* do not take off from the equal clearness of the demonstration, which results from the nature of *both one and the other* Constitution. This difference is not to be ascribed to a contrary conduct in the Governor of the two Systems, but to the contrary natures of the Subjects. Passive matter being totally inert, it's resistance to the

the Laws impressed upon it, must be extremely weak : and consequently the disorders arising from that resistance, proportionably slow and unheeded : while that active self-moving principle, the Mind, flies out at once from the centre of its direction, and can every moment deflect from the line of truth and equity. Hence moral disorders began early, became excessive, and have continued, through all ages, to disturb the harmony of the System.

What is here said will, I suppose, be sufficient to confute the following assertions ; and to detect the mistake on which they arise.

“ Every thing (says his Lordship) shews the wisdom and power of God conformably to our ideas of wisdom and power in the *physical* world and in the *moral*. But every thing does not shew in like manner the justice and goodness conformably to our ideas of these attributes in either. The *physical* attributes are in their nature more glaring and less equivocal^k. ”

And again, “ There is no sufficient foundation in the phænomena of Nature to connect the moral attributes with the physical attributes of God. Nay, the phænomena are in several cases repugnant^l. ”

But since he goes so far as to talk of the want of a foundation, and even a repugnancy ; Before I proceed with the main branch of my reasoning, I will just urge one single argument for the reality and full evidence of the *moral attributes* : and it shall be taken from his own concessions, and shall conclude on his own principles.

He tells us, that such as he, “ who apply themselves to the *first Philosophy*, apply themselves to the noblest objects that can demand the attention of the mind—To the signification of GOD’S WILL,

^k Vol. v. p. 524.

^l Vol. v. p. 316.

“ concerning the duties we owe to him, and to one
 “ another^m.”

And again, “ It is sufficient to establish our *moral*
 “ obligations that we consider them relatively to our
 “ own system. From thence they arise: and since
 “ they arise from thence, it must be the WILL of that
 “ Being who made the system, that we should ob-
 “ serve and practise them.”

Let me ask then, Whence it is that we collect this
 WILL from the objects which his Lordship allows
 us to contemplate, namely, his WORKS in *this sys-*
tem? He will say from certain *qualities* in those ob-
 jects.—What are those qualities? He will reply,
 the *fitnesses* of means to ends.—Who was the Au-
 thor of these fitnesses? He hath told us, the *God of*
nature.—It was God's *will* then, that we should
 use the *means*, in order to obtain the *ends*. Now,
 in the moral System, the means are virtuous prac-
 tice; the end, happiness. Virtue therefore must
 needs be pleasing to him; and Vice, as it's contrary,
 displeasing. Well, but then, as to this approbation
 and dislike; it must be either capricious, or it must
 be regulated on the nature of things. *Wisdom*,
 which his Lordship condescends to give his Maker,
 will not allow us to suppose it capricious. It is re-
 gulated therefore on the nature of things. But if
 the *nature of things* be, as his Lordship holds it is,
 the *constitution of God*, and dependent on his *will*, then
 he who is pleased with virtue, and displeased with
 vice, must needs be himself *good and just*.

To proceed now with the principal branch of our
 reasoning. His Lordship goes on thus. *But men not*
only might collect God's natural attributes from the phy-
sical system, but in effect they did: and all men, at all
times, had these notions so strongly impressed on them,

^m Vol. v. p. 447.

ⁿ Vol. v. p. 452.

that they were led to conclude with the utmost certainty for a Being of infinite power and wisdom.

I desire to know in what time or place it ever happened, before his Lordship philosophised at Battersea, and could find no foundation, in the *phænomena* of nature, to connect the moral with the physical attributes of God, that a Man, who believed God's infinite wisdom and power, did not with equal confidence believe his infinite goodness and justice? In truth, these two sets of ideas, the *physical* and *moral* attributes of the Deity, were equally extensive, they were equally steady, and, till now, they were always inseparable.

He says, that *as far as we can discover, we discern infinite wisdom and power in all God's works: and where we cannot discern them, it is manifestly due to our imperfection, not to his.*

What his Lordship here says will deserve to be considered. A comparison is insinuated between our discovery of infinite power and wisdom from the *physical* works of God; and our discovery of infinite goodness and justice from his *moral* works; in which, the advantage is given to the former. Now, in order to come to a just decision in this point (omitting at present the notice of his general Sophism which operates in this observation, as in the rest) we must distinguish between the *means of acquiring* the knowledge of God's Attributes, and that *knowledge when acquired*.

As to the first, (the *means of acquiring*,) there seems to be some advantage on the side of God's PHYSICAL works. For, as his Lordship rightly observes, *where we cannot discern wisdom and power in the physical works it is due to our imperfection, not to his: for as men advance in the knowledge of nature we see more and more of wisdom and power.* And he insinuates, we cannot say the same concerning the difficulties in the *moral* system. It is true, we cannot. But then

let me tell him, neither can we say the contrary. The reason is, The physical system lies open to our enquiries; and by the right application of our senses to well tried experiments, we are able to make considerable advances in the knowledge of Nature. It is not so in the *moral* system; all we know here are a few general principles concerning its Constitution; and further than this, human wit or industry is unable to penetrate. These general principles are, indeed, amply sufficient to deduce and establish the *moral attributes* from the *moral system*; but not sufficient to remove all difficulties that arise from what we see of the actual administration of that System. So that, tho' we cannot say, that *as we advance in the knowledge of the moral system we see more and more of goodness and justness*; So neither can his Lordship say (tho' his words seem to insinuate he could) that as we advance, we see *less and less*. Whereas the truth is, beyond those general principles, we cannot advance at all.

But then, as to the second part in the distinction, (the *knowledge of the attributes, when acquired*.) I hold the advantage, and a great one it is, lies altogether on the side of the MORAL. And thus I argue: Tho' the idea of God's *natural* attributes be as clear in the abstract, as that of his *moral*, yet the idea of his moral attributes is, in the concrete, more adequate than that of his natural. The reason seems convincing. The moral relation in which we stand to God, as free agents, is just the same whether man exists alone, or whether he be but a link in the chain of innumerable orders of intelligences surrounding the whole Creation. Hence we must needs have a full knowledge of our duty to him, and of his disposition towards us: on which knowledge is founded the exactness of our conceptions of his moral attributes, his *justice* and *goodness*. But the natural relation in which we, or any of God's creatures,

tures, stand towards him, as material Beings, is not the same when considered simply, as when considered to be a portion of a dependent and connected Whole. Because whenever such a Whole exists, the harmony and perfection of it must first of all be consulted. This harmony ariseth from the mutual subserviency and union of its parts. But this subserviency may require a ministration of government, with regard to certain portions of Matter thus allied, different from what might have followed had those portions stood alone, because that precise disposition, which might be fit in one case might be unfit in the other. Hence we, who know there is a Whole, of which our material system is a Part; and yet are totally ignorant both of it's nature and extent, can have but a very confused idea of that physical relation in which we stand towards God: so that our conceptions of his *natural* attributes, his *power* and *wisdom*, which are founded on that idea, must in the concrete be proportionably vague and inadequate.

But it may be asked, perhaps, Whence arises this reciprocal advantage which the *moral* and the *natural* attributes have over one another, in the *means of acquiring* the knowledge of the *Attributes*, and the precision of *that knowledge when acquired*? I will tell the Reader in two words. Of *our own physical* system, we know many particulars, (that is, we discover much of the *means*, but nothing of the *end*) and of the *universal* physical system we are entirely ignorant. On the other hand, we know but few particulars of *our own moral* system, (that is, we discover only the *end*, and not the *means*) and of the *universal* moral system we understand the general principles.

His Lordship proceeds. *This now* [the knowledge of God's *natural* attributes] *is real knowledge; or there is no such thing as knowledge. We acquire it immediately in the objects themselves, IN GOD, and in nature the work of God.*

What

What his Lordship means by, *in God*, in distinction from the *work of God*, I confess I do not understand: Perhaps it may be intended to insinuate, in honour of the *natural attributes*, that they may be even proved *a priori*; for this is not the first time by many, when, after having heartily abused a thing or person, he has been reduced to support himself on the authority, or the reasoning they afford him. Or perhaps, it was only used to round the period, and set off his eloquence. However, I agree with him, that this is *real knowledge*. And so too, I think, is the knowledge of the *moral attributes*, so gained. Why truly, says his Lordship, *I do allow just so much goodness and justice in God as we see in that CONSTITUTION, which annexes happiness to virtue and misery to vice. But this, says he, I think, had better be called WISDOM.* I think so too; if by *so much*, he means no more than what concerns God's *natural government*: and that he means no more is plain from his making the *natural* consequence of vice and virtue the only sanction of the moral Law. But I will venture to go further, and say, that, from what we see in this *Constitution*, we may collect PERFECT GOODNESS AND JUSTICE. *Matter* and man's *Free-will* disturb the System: But if the *Constitution* be the effect of God's *Will*, as his Lordship holds it is; and the mark of his *Wisdom*, as all mankind hold with him; Does not that *Wisdom* require that his *Will* should not be defeated? Would it not be defeated, if the disorders occasioned by the perversity of his *Creatures* were not remedied and set right? And is not A REMEDY the clearest mark of *perfect goodness and justice*?

Take it in another light. *Free-will* crosses that *Constitution*, which God, by establishing, shews he intended should take place. This *present* disturbance could not have been prevented, because, according to my Lord and his ill used Poet, it was necessary to

to the schemes of divine wisdom, that there should be such a creature as MAN :

“ For in the scale of reasoning life, ’tis plain

“ There must be, somewhere, such a rank as
“ man.”

The consequence is, that the disorder will be *hereafter* rectified.

Had Man indeed been made *unnecessarily*; and had this Man broke in upon God’s general System, his Lordship might have had some pretence to say, as he does, that GOD MEANT THE SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE FURTHER PURSUED; that is, that the scheme which annexes happiness to virtue, and misery to vice, should remain in it’s present condition of an incomplete Dispensation, to all eternity. But since Man is acknowledged to be a *necessary* part of a general System, complete in all it’s members, it is nonsense to talk of God’s *not meaning the particular System should be further pursued*, when that *further pursuit* is only to bring it to it’s natural period; short of which, it would remain unfinished, nay, unformed.

He goes on. *We know what WISDOM and POWER are. We know both intuitively, and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the WORK; and therefore we know demonstratively that such they are in the WORKER.*

And do we not know what GOODNESS and JUSTICE are? And by the very same means? Do we not intuitively, and by the help of our senses know, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the WORK, namely, in that *constitution of things*, which, his Lordship tells us, annexes happiness to virtue, and misery to vice? And may we not *demonstratively* collect from thence that such they are in the WORKER? since this *Constitution*, his Lordship tells us again, is the effect of God’s WILL. On his own principles, therefore, applied to his own state of the reasoning a posteriori, it appears, that
God

God is of *infinite goodness* and *justice*, as well as of *infinite wisdom* and *power*.

But to give AUTHORITY to his partial reasoning, (the usual support of all partialities,) He makes *Anaxagoras* instruct us, what we are to think of this matter. “Should you ask *Anaxagoras* (says he) “what *goodness* is, or *justice*? He might bid you, “perhaps, turn your eyes inward, first; then, survey mankind; observe the wants of individuals, “the benefits of society, and, from these particulars, frame the general notions of *goodness* and “*justice*. He might go a step further: and add, “this is *human* goodness and *human* justice, such as “we can comprehend, such as we can exercise, and “such as the supreme mind has made it both our “duty and interest to exercise, by the constitution of “the human system, and by the relations which “arise in it: from all which our notions of *goodness* and *justice* result, and are compounded.”

We know then, according to our mock *Anaxagoras*, what *goodness* and *justice* are, as certainly as what *Wisdom* and *Power* are: Since this quaternion of Attributes are all known by the same means and by no other: *we know both intuitively and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the work.* For he bids us *turn our eyes inward*; then *survey mankind*; and lastly, observe how *reason*, from the constitution of *human nature*, confirms our *intuitive* knowledge, and that which we gain by the *help of our senses*.—But what does all this signify, if *Anaxagoras* or his Lordship be in an humour of concluding against their own premisses? Hear then how the speech ends.—“Of “*divine goodness* and *divine justice* might this Philosopher conclude, I AM UNABLE TO FRAME ANY ADEQUATE NOTIONS °. What? Unable to frame

° Vol. iv. p. 116, 17.

those notions which God, by his *moral Constitution*, has put into our hands; and by the declaration of his WILL has taught us to *apply*? Yes, he bids us conclude, that we are *unable to frame any adequate notion of divine GOODNESS and JUSTICE*, and yet, on the force of the very same reasoning, to conclude as steadily, that we are *able to frame an adequate notion of divine WISDOM and POWER*.—This old *Philosopher*, I suppose, was not brought in to be laughed at, like his drunken Church-HELOTES^P; yet, he plays the fool to admiration.—*We DO KNOW*, says Anaxagoras, *what Goodness and Justice are: we know both intuitively, and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the WORK; and THEREFORE we DO NOT KNOW that such they are in the WORKER.*

Might I be permitted to address myself to this Renegado Sophist, I would say,—Your brethren, the antient Philosophers, reasoned *a posteriori* in this manner, “Can you think there is *wisdom and power* in you, and none in your Maker?”—By no means. They reasoned well.—Let me ask you then, is there *goodness and justice* in you, and none in your Maker?” His answer, I suppose, would be the same. But, prompted by his Lordship, into whose service he is now entered, he adds, That, from *human goodness and justice* we cannot come to the NATURE of the *divine*. What should hinder us, I pray you? Is it not from our *intuitive conception* of our own *wisdom and power* that we gain an adequate idea of God’s? Are *wisdom and power* MORE PERFECT, as they are found in man, than *goodness and justice*? If therefore the IMPERFECTION of these attributes in Man hinder

P —“far be it from me to wish (says his Lordship) that the
“race of Metaphysicians and Casuists should increase.—But since
“there will be such men, it is very reasonable to wish that they
“may serve to the same good purpose that the Helotes, the drunken
“slaves, did at Sparta, &c. V. 5. p. 446.

our acquiring an adequate idea of those in God, we can have no adequate idea of his *wisdom* and *power*: If the IMPERFECTION does not hinder, then we may have an adequate idea of his *goodness* and *justice*.

But, the inference to God's *power* and *wisdom*, his Lordship says, is supported by what men see of the effects of them, in his Works; the order and harmony of the *physical* System. Do we not see likewise the effects of God's *goodness* and *justice*, in the order and harmony of the *moral*, in the happiness that naturally attends virtue and the misery consequent on vice? And is not the *moral* System as much God's *Work*, as the *physical*?

Thus, we see, that by the very reasoning, his Lordship EMPLOYS to prove the *natural* attributes, and by the very method he PRESCRIBES to us for proving the *moral* attributes, we have demonstrated the *moral* with a precision and a certainty, at least equal to the *natural*. His Lordship seems to have been aware of the event; and therefore when he had set us at defiance, he tried to put the change upon us, under pretence of reminding us, that the *moral attributes* should be examined by, or *applied to*, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD AND THE STATE OF MANKIND IN IT^a. I had full as much reason to be aware of his Lordship. And therefore, in stating the question, at my entrance on the subject, I obviated this miserable Sophism. I call it by no better name, because it is not *the constitution of the world or the state of mankind in it*, but the CONSTITUTION OF THE MORAL SYSTEM, or the nature of Virtue and Vice as they naturally operate to produce happiness and misery, by which God's *moral attributes* are to be tried and ascertained. But this, which, by a steady light, gives us an uniform view, he would have us turn from; to contemplate that obscure, disturbed, and shifting Scene, the actual

^a Vol. v. p. 331.

state of vice and virtue, of misery and happiness, amongst men. That is, he would have us conclude concerning God's nature, not from his VOLUNTARY CONSTITUTION of things, but from the BREACHES in that Constitution made by the abuse of man's free-will: which yet, (when he is arguing *for an equal providence*) he again and again confesses ought not to be charged upon God; and declaims violently against the folly of those who impute the effects of that abuse to him. Tho' here, (in his various attempts to blot out *the idea of God's moral attributes*) he be full of the disorders of the moral System, considered as part of God's design.

But since I have mentioned his arguments for an *equal providence*, I should be unjust to my argument, if I concealed from the Reader, another of his contradictions.—He had Man's *future State* as well as *God's moral attributes* to throw out of the religious World; or, to speak more properly, he had RELIGION to overturn, by taking away its very ESSENCE: and as the *irregularities* in the present administration of God's moral Providence stood in the way of his first attempt; and the *consistency* of the *moral System itself* in the way of the other; when he argues against a FUTURE STATE, You would think there were no *irregularities*; and when he argues against the MORAL ATTRIBUTES, You would think there was no *consistency*.

We now come to his Lordship's particular objections against the *moral attributes*. One of them is that they are BOUNDED.

“ They [the Divines] go further. As God is
 “ perfect, and man very imperfect, they talk of his
 “ *infinite goodness* and *justice*, as of his infinite wis-
 “ dom and power; tho' the latter may preserve their
 “ nature without any conceivable bounds, and the
 “ former must cease to be what they are, unless we
 “ conceive them BOUNDED. Their nature implies
 “ neces-

“ necessarily a limitation in the exercise of them.
 “ Thus then the *moral attributes*, according to this
 “ Theology, requires infinitely more of God to
 “ man than men are able, or would be obliged if
 “ they were able, to exercise to one another: greater
 “ profusion in bestowing benefits and rewards, greater
 “ rigour in punishing offences.”

You have here his Lordship's own words; and nothing less could induce any one to think so disadvantageously of this Philosopher of the first head, as they necessarily imply. Let us consider the *premisses* and examine the *inferences* both *implied* and *expressed*.

He says, 1. That the *moral attributes* are *bounded*; 2. That the *natural* are *not bounded*. Let us see to what the first proposition amounts; and how much truth there is in the second.

1. The *moral attributes* are considered by us as relative to *intelligent* creatures: The *natural* are not so considered. Thus, the goodness and justice when relative to man, are greatly *bounded*; a certain low degree of reward suffices for his *good*; a certain low degree of punishment for his *evil* actions. Let God's goodness and justice respect a higher rank of intelligent Beings, and they will be then *less bounded*; for greater rewards and punishments will be required: and so on, to the highest rank of intelligent creatures. Yet as the highest is at infinite distance from the Creator, the exercise of the moral attributes, as they bear relation to his intelligent creatures, must be still *bounded*.

2. His second proposition is, that *the natural attributes* are *not bounded*. It is true, these cannot be considered as relative to God's *intelligent* creatures; yet since, in their exercise, they must be considered as relative to his Creation at large; and since Cre-

ation, however immense, is not infinite, the natural attributes so considered are not infinite: but if not infinite, they are *bounded*. There is no difference therefore, in *the exercise* of God's attributes, between the *moral* and the *natural*, save only in the degree.

But if we consider God's *moral* and *natural* attributes more abstractedly, not as they are *in the exercise*, and relative to intelligent Beings, and to actual Creation, but as they are in his nature, then they are both *unbounded*. Thus we see his Lordship's notable distinction is both imaginary and useless.

However, let us give him all he asks; and then see what he will be able to *infer* from it.

1. His first *inference* seems to be this: "As the moral attributes are bounded, and not infinite like the natural, our idea of them must be *obscure* and *inadequate*." What! because they are better adapted to human contemplation? as things *bounded* certainly are better adapted than things *infinite*. Our idea of such of God's attributes as bear relation to a Being, whose nature and properties we know, namely MAN, must needs be more adequate and better defined than the idea of such attributes as bear relation to Beings, whose nature and properties we know not, namely the gross of those which make up the UNIVERSE.

2. His other *inference*, is expressed in these words: *Thus then the moral attributes, according to this Theology, requires infinitely more of God to man than men are able, or would be obliged if they were able, to exercise to one another.* To say, the moral attributes, according to Christian Theology, or, as he is pleased to call it, *artificial Theology*, requires INFINITELY more, is an extravagant hyperbole. To say, it *requires more*, is true. And for this plain reason: the relation between Creator and Creature is much more intimate than that, between Fellow-creatures; therefore the divine *goodness* is more abundant: The relation between Lord and Servant is more appropriate than

that between Fellow-servants; therefore the divine *justice* is more severe. And had it not been deemed too presuming to refer his Lordship to Scripture for instruction (especially in a matter where the abuse of Scripture was chiefly intended) I might there have pointed to a *Parable* which would have set him right: and has always kept *artificial Theology*, whatever he might think, from going wrong. But *infinite*, when applied to the *exercise* of a moral attribute in reference to Man, is his Lordship's nonsense, with due reverence be it spoken, not the *nonsense of artificial Divines*. They were not ignorant, that the rule, *infirmiorem vel deteriorem partem sequitur consequentia*, held as well in *Morals* as in *Logic*. Tho' God be infinite, man is finite; and therefore, with respect to man, the exertion of a *moral* attribute is finite, not infinite. His Lordship himself saw something of this, as appears by his own words. *The nature of the moral attributes implies necessarily a limitation in the use of them*. And why would he suppose, Divines could not see as far into this matter as himself?

But if there be an error in *artificial Theology* he is as sure, at one time or other, to espouse it; as he is ready at all times to calumniate the Divine who holds it. Men, in their ill advised zeal to defend the Scripture doctrine of the Son's Divinity, were not always sufficiently careful in selecting their arguments. Amongst such as had perhaps been better let alone, they employed this; That as man's offence was against an infinite Being, it required an infinite satisfaction; which none but such a Being could give. Now his Lordship, we see, espouses this very principle to discredit God's moral attributes, and the *artificial Theology* of Jesus Christ; which speaks, indeed, of *infinite* rewards; but not as matter of *due*, but of *grace*.

As the being *bounded* is one of his Lordship's objections against the moral attributes, so the being merely HUMAN, is another.

“ After

“ After Dr. CLARKE (says he) has repeated over
 “ and over, that all the *moral attributes* are the same
 “ in God as in our ideas ; and that he, who denies
 “ them to be so, may as well deny the divine *physical*
 “ *attributes*, the Doctor insists only on two of the
 “ former, on those of *justice* and *goodness*. He was
 “ much in the right to contract the generality of his
 “ assertion. The absurdity of ascribing TEMPE-
 “ RANCE, for instance, or FORTITUDE, to God,
 “ would have been too gross, and too visible even to
 “ eyes that prejudice had blinded the most. But
 “ that, of ascribing *justice* and *goodness* to him, ac-
 “ cording to our notions of them, might be better
 “ covered, and was enough for his purpose, tho’
 “ NOT LESS REALLY ABSURD^s.”

Which shall we most admire : His *Knowledge* or
 his *Ingenuity* ? Or shall we follow the advice of his
 own Motto^t, and *Wonder at nothing* ?

When men contemplate what they call, moral
 virtue, or the attributes of Humanity, they divide
 them into two classes, perfectly distinct from one
 another. In the first are comprized those which be-
 long to man under the idea of a free intelligent Be-
 ing, such as *goodness* and *justice* : in the second, those
 which belong to him under the idea of a creature of
 his own frail species, such as *temperance* and *fortitude*.
 The first belong to all free intelligent Beings ; the
 latter, only to such a Being as man : *Those* arise out
 of the nature of free intelligence, and so are com-
 mon to all : *These*, from the imperfections of a very
 inferior creature, and so are peculiar to Humanity ;
 for we easily conceive a higher Order of free created
 Intelligencies, in which the moral virtues of the se-
 cond class have no place. They are superior to the
 impressions of fear, and so have no room to exert
fortitude : They are removed from the temptation of
 excess, and so have no need to exercise *temperance*.

^s Vol. v. p. 311.

^t *Nil admirari.*

NOW when CLARKE, after other Divines, had said that *the moral attributes are the same in God as in our ideas*, What Attributes could they possibly mean but those of the *first class*; those which belong to Beings under the idea of free Intelligences? STUPID as his Lordship is pleased to make Divines, they could never blunder at such a rate as to conceive, that those virtues or *moral attributes*, which proceed from the *imperfection* of the Creature, might belong in any manner to the Creator, whom they supposed to be *all perfect*. They held, with his Lordship, and they will hold without him, that the great God is *infinitely* wise and powerful. Were they then in any danger to give him *temperance*, which implied his being obnoxious to *folly*; or *fortitude*, which argued *impulsance*? Infinite wisdom, therefore, and infinite power, exclude from God the very ideas of *temperance* and *fortitude*. But do infinite wisdom and infinite power exclude from God the ideas of *goodness* and *justice*? On the contrary, his Lordship, as we shall see presently, is reduced to the poor shift of owning *goodness* and *justice* to be contained in infinite wisdom and power; after he had said, as here he does, *That the ascribing goodness and justice to God is NO LESS REALLY ABSURD than the ascribing temperance and fortitude to him.*

—But CLARKE contracted the generality of the assertion to serve a purpose. I think he did: and for one of the best purposes in the world, that of COMMON SENSE. Had his Lordship been pleased to contract himself on the same principle, he might have passed, perhaps, for a greater Philosopher; tho' he had certainly been a less Writer.

But then, if you ask, *What purpose* his Lordship had to serve, when he used the equivocal word ALL, (which may signify either *all* of one kind, or *all* of every kind) where he observes, Clarke holds, *that ALL the moral attributes are the same in God, &c?* I answer, it was to give himself the poor pretence to say,

say, that Clarke afterwards *contracted his generality*, or, in other words, that he contradicted himself.

A third objection against the *moral attributes* is, "That PASSIONS and AFFECTIONS mix with our goodness and justice; which therefore cannot be supposed to be *the same in kind* with God's; tho' our wisdom and power, with which no passions or affections mix, must be the *same in kind* with his."

Were passion and affection *inseparable* from human goodness and justice, the objection might seem to have some force; indeed, not much even then. But how miserable must the objection appear to those who see, as all men may, that they are *separable*? Separable, I mean, in practice as well as speculation: (Of which we have at present * one great Example at least, in a high Tribunal where they shine the most.) So that the true idea even of human goodness and justice excludes all passion and affection. What hinders then our rising, from that idea, to Divine goodness and justice, any more than our rising, from the idea of human wisdom and power, to the Divine wisdom and power; and from perceiving, that as well the *moral*, as the *natural* attributes, are the same in kind, both in God and man?

But, this is not all that may be fairly said in favour of our adequate idea of God's *moral attributes*, when compared with the *natural*. For tho' PASSION mixes not with the human attributes of wisdom and power, yet something else does, much more difficult to be separated than *passion*, from the human attributes of goodness and justice, I mean the INSTRUMENTALITY OF MATTER. We can conceive nothing of *human power* without the use of such an instrument: yet this, by his Lordship's own confession, does not hinder us from rising from the idea of our own wisdom and power, to the wisdom and power of God; nor from seeing that they are the same *in kind*.

* 1765.

Why then should the other foreign combination hinder us from seeing that goodness and justice are the same *in kind*?

Still, further. The MANNER of *knowing* in God, on which depends his natural attribute of WISDOM, is confessedly different from what it is in man; and, at the same time, is a thing of which we have no conception: yet this, according to his Lordship's account, does not hinder our attaining to an adequate idea of *divine wisdom*, tho' it rises only from what we see of the *human*.

How happens it then, that, in both these cases, notwithstanding the foreign mixture of the *instrumentality of matter*, and the *manner of knowing*, we attain an adequate idea of God's wisdom and power? His Lordship will tell you, it is by separating what is foreign, from what is native to the ideas of wisdom and power. And shall not I have as much credit with my Reader, when I tell him, we acquire an adequate idea of God's goodness and justice, by separating from the idea of human goodness and justice the foreign mixture of *passion* and *affection*?

But his Lordship has a greater quarrel than all this, with the MORAL ATTRIBUTES. They give rise to embarrassed questions, dishonourable to God, and mischievous to Religion.

“ As they [the Divines] modeled God's government on a human plan, so they conceived his perfections, *moral* as well as *physical*, by human ideas.
 “ — Thus God was said to be the FIRST GOOD: but
 “ then the general notion or abstract idea of this
 “ *good* was not only taken from human goodness,
 “ but was considered too with little or no other relation than to man—A question arose therefore
 “ on these hypotheses, *How could evil come into a system of which God was the author?*—this question
 “ made a further hypothesis necessary; another first
 “ God, another coeternal and coequal principle was
 “ intro-

“introduced to solve it; *a first cause of all evil*, as
 “the other was *of all good*.”

The false representation of this fact I reserve for another occasion: the false inference from it is what I now propose to consider.

His Lordship supposes, that the notion of God's *moral attributes* gave birth to an insoluble question concerning *the origin of evil*; and that this occasioned the invention of the mischievous hypothesis of the *two Principles*. Who would have suspected all this evil to arise from the FIRST GOOD! Yet so it was: And therefore the notion of such a GOOD must be *false*; or at least, very *hurtful*.

I. As to the first, if his Lordship's inference be right, it will unsettle all useful knowledge; because there is no great principle, either in *physics*, or in *natural Theology*, but which, if we be not on our guard, and wise enough to stop at the extent of our ideas, will lead us into inextricable difficulties: As one might instance in a point that arises out of both the sciences, physics and morals together—*The agreement between free-will and prescience*. This is a well-known case: And as his Lordship pretends to untie this knot, which hath so long kept the learned world intangled, let us examine his great talents on what is worthy of them. “Our ideas (says he) of divine
 “intelligence and wisdom may be neither *fantastical*
 “nor *false*, and yet God's MANNER of knowing
 “may be so different from ours, that fore-knowledge,
 “as we call it *improperly in him*, may be consistent
 “with the contingency of events; altho' that which
 “we call *properly fore-knowledge in ourselves*, be not
 “so.”

I have two or three remarks to make on these words.

I. Our ideas of God's moral attributes, his *goodness* and *justice*, he makes *fantastical* and *false*, on account of difficulties arising from them: yet God's

^u Vol. iv. p. 88.

^w Vol. v. p. 525.

natural attributes, his *intelligence* and *wisdom*, may, he says, *be neither fantastical nor false*, tho' a difficulty as great arises from them; namely, the apparent discordancy between free-will and prescience.

2. My second remark is, that his solution is more *fantastic* and *false* than the wildest chimera of School-metaphysics. The difficulty in reconciling God's prescience to man's free-will does not arise from our ignorance in God's MANNER OF KNOWING, but from God's ACTUAL KNOWLEDGE.

3. My third remark is, that his Lordship, who is here so penetrating, that he can easily reconcile *prescience* and *free-will*, is yet, in another place, so cloudy, that he cannot see how an "*equal providence* and *free agency* may stand together^x."

4. My last remark is (and it rises out of the foregoing) that where Religion is not concerned, his Lordship sees no difficulty in any part of the system of Creation: But as soon as ever Religion appears, then difficulties start up by dozens. Of this, take an instance from, as it will lead us back to, the case in hand. Our ideas of God's *moral attributes*, he says, must needs be false, because the conceiving of them by human goodness and justice raises up the question of the *origin of evil*, considered *morally*. Well, And does not the conceiving of God's *physical attributes*, by human wisdom and power, lead to the question of the *origin of evil*, considered *naturally*? Yet our ideas of the physical attributes are neither *false* nor *fantastical*. But to this, his Lordship replies, Evil, considered *naturally*, is not real, but apparent only. Why so? Because it contributes to the greater good of the whole. May not the same thing be said of Evil, considered *morally*? Nay, hath it not been actually said, and proved too, on the same prin-

^x See my observations on this proposed difficulty at the end of the 4th vol. of the *Divine Legation*.

ciples? It follows then, that they are either both *real*, or both *fantastic*.

In a word, the truth is no more than this, Presumptuous man knows not where to stop: he would penetrate even to the Arcana of the Godhead;

“For Fools rush in, where Angels fear to tread.”

And this impious humour it was which gave birth to the absurd hypothesis of TWO PRINCIPLES. But is the folly to be charged upon our idea of the *moral attributes*? Ridiculous! We see it's *cause* is in vanity and self-conceit: passions that operate alike on all Systems; and find materials to gratify their extravagance, equally in the *physical* as in the *moral* attributes of the Deity.

II. As to his Lordship's second inference, that *this* idea is at least productive of much *mischief*, and therefore it would be better to have none at all; Let me observe, that the idea of God's very existence is productive of much mischief, even all the mischiefs of Superstition. Is it therefore better to be without a God? Who besides his Lordship would say so? Why then should we think it better to be without the idea of the *moral attributes*, even tho' the evils it produced were *necessary*? But that is not the case. They are *casual* only: the issue of pride and presumption; which the idea of the *moral attributes* does not at all influence.

III. HOWEVER, these, if not hurtful, are USELESS; and this is his next cavil. “Infinite wisdom and power (says his Lordship) have made things as they are: how goodness and justice required they should be made is neither *coram judice*, nor to any rational purpose to enquire².” To inquire how the *universe of things* should be made,

¹ He indeed says, *he had rather be an Atheist than acknowledge the Christian Theology*, and we may believe him. See vol. iv. p. 34.

² Vol. v. p. 363.

which refers to God's *power* and *wisdom*, serves indeed to *no reasonable purpose*. But to inquire concerning our own state and condition in this Universe, which refers to God's *goodness* and *justice*, is either, *coram judice*, or we were sent into the world to no purpose. His Lordship's sophistry seems to confound two things that plain sense hath always distinguished; viz. *our own business from other men's*. When the King holds a Session of justice, 'tis not for every Particular to inquire into all his measures: But every Particular who is summoned to attend the Court, is much concerned to know how he himself shall be dealt with. His Lordship, indeed, is ready to say, We are not *summoned*; that is, we are not *accountable creatures*. But this is begging the question.

Again, to *inquire*, much more to prescribe, *how things should be made*, in any particular System, has all the folly, presumption, and impiety, which his Lordship charges upon it: Because the Parts having a relation to the Whole, an all-wise Architect makes them in conformity to that Whole, of which, we know nothing; and therefore our only conclusion should be, that the Part we do know, is constituted for the best. But it is another thing to say (which is all that Divines have said, how differently soever his Lordship is pleased to represent the matter) that God will act equitably with his rational Creation, by distributing good and evil to them according to their deserts; because this does not depend upon any Whole, of which we know nothing, but on his attributes of goodness and justice, of which, we know enough to determine with certainty concerning his final dealing with every rank of free and reasonable Beings. In this case to pass our judgment is so far from folly or impiety, that not to do it would be stupidity or hypocrisy. To call this proceeding, as his Lordship does, the patching or botching up one System with another, is a gross misrepresentation.

AT LENGTH, he ends just where he set out, That we have NO IDEAS of the moral attributes at all. "Upon the whole matter (says he) we may conclude safely from error, and in direct opposition to CLARKE, that *goodness and justice in God cannot be conceived, without manifest presumption and impiety, to be the same as in the ideas we frame of these perceptions when we consider them in men, or when we reason about them abstractedly in themselves; but that in the supreme Governor of the World they are something TRANSCENDENT, and of which we cannot make any true judgment, nor argue with any certainty about them^a.*" It was for jargon like this that a famous Schoolman got the name of the TRANSCENDENT DOCTOR. Yet he assures us that he is justified by the authority of St. PAUL and Dr. BARROW. *These two great Divines (says he) are on my side^b.* Two noble Supporters, (it must be confessed) to his Lordship's Atchievement! One thing I have observed, which may be worth reflecting on—A strange propensity in FREE-THINKERS to mistake their enemies for their friends; and as strange a propensity in the CLERGY to mistake their friends for their enemies. This different turn is odd enough; and, at first view, seems a little mysterious; when, perhaps, there may be no more in it than this,—Free-thinkers have invented the trick, to amuse the Clergy, in order to raise their suspicions, and excite their jealousy against their best Friends: And, unhappily, the Clergy have, now and then, fallen into the snare.

But, after all, who would expect that *the leather-dressing Pontiff^c* of all men should have been thought worthy to support the *first Philosophy*! What has St.

^a Vol. v. p. 359.

^b Vol. v. p. 362.

^c This is the title with which he dignifies SAINT PAUL, in his iv. vol. p. 423. What Pity was it, his Lordship did not know that *Theodore* had called him a downright COBLER.

PAUL done at last to deserve this honour? Why, in answer to the objections against God's dispensations in the religious World, the Apostle refers us, "for
 " intire satisfaction, to the incomprehensible wisdom
 " of God, who frequently in the course of his pro-
 " vidence ordereth things in methods transcending
 " our abilities to discover or to trace^d." This solution, which is here extolled for its great *modesty*, is referred to, in another place, for its greater IMPUDENCE^e.

But St. PAUL says, *we must have recourse to the incomprehensible wisdom of God.* In good time. But how does this prove that, in Paul's opinion, we have no adequate idea of the *moral attributes*? Unless the *quality* of an Agent, and his *action*, be one and the same thing.

Dr. BARROW, I presume, will stand his Lordship in no better stead than St. Paul. "As the dealings
 " of every wise man (says the Doctor) are sometimes
 " founded upon maxims, and admit justifications
 " not obvious or penetrable by vulgar conceit, so
 " may God act according to rules of wisdom and
 " justice, which it may be quite impossible by our
 " faculties to apprehend, or with our means to de-
 " scry. As there are natural modes of Being and
 " operation, so there may be prudential and moral
 " modes of proceeding, far above our reach, pecu-
 " liar objects of divine wisdom not to be understood
 " by any creature, especially by creatures who stand
 " in the lowest form of intelligence; one remove
 " from beasts. In fine, those rules of equity and
 " experience which we in our transactions with one
 " another do use, if they be applied to the dealings
 " of God will be found very incongruous or defici-
 " ent, the case being vastly altered from that infinite
 " distance in nature and state between God and us,
 " and from the immense difference which his rela-
 " tions towards us have from our relations to one

^d Vol. v. p. 360.

^e Vol. iii. p. 307.

"another."

“another^f.” What now has all this (which relates only to the *incomprehensible nature of God’s providence*) to do with our *inadequate ideas of his moral attributes*? At least, if his Lordship will contend, that the man who thinks God’s providence *incomprehensible*, must needs think our ideas of his moral attributes *inadequate*, he must go a step further; and confess, that Barrow supposed our ideas of the *natural attributes* to be *inadequate* likewise; for he puts both on the same footing. *As there are NATURAL modes of Being and operation*, (says the Doctor) *so there may be prudential and MORAL modes proceeding far above our reach*. But as this would be going too far; farther than the FIRST PHILOSOPHY will allow of, I suppose his Lordship would be content to give up this quotation from Barrow, as nothing to the purpose.

AT LAST, and when you would least expect it, Common-sense and Common-sentiments return. And God’s moral attributes, after much ado, are allowed to be in Nature. “Where Religions (says his Lordship) which pretend to be revealed, prevail, a new character of God’s *goodness* arises—an *artificial goodness* which stands often in the place of the NATURAL^g.” And this, after he had so often told us, that we have no adequate idea of any goodness at all. Well, but as awkwardly as God’s *natural goodness* comes (and, in every sense) *a posteriori*, yet it comes, and deserves to be made welcome. “All the knowledge (says he) that God has given us the means to acquire, and therefore all he designed we should have of his physical and MORAL nature and attributes, is derived from *his works*, and from the TENOUR OF THAT PROVIDENCE by which he governs them^h.” You will observe the words—*the tenour of that Providence*——I have de-

^f Vol. v. p. 361, 2.

^g Vol. v. p. 431.

^h Vol. v. p. 523, 4.

tested the sophistry of them before, where I have stated the meaning of the terms, *God's works*. I bid you observe them now, to judge of the following climax, (if I may so call it) or his walk down stairs. “The *wisdom* is not so often discernible by us [in “God’s works] as the power of God, nor the *goodness* as the *wisdom* ⁱ.” As scanty and slender as the knowledge is of God’s moral attributes, which his Lordship here allows us to collect from his works, yet it flatly contradicts what his System had obliged him over and over to maintain; particularly in the following words—*Of divine goodness and divine justice* (says his Lordship in the person of Anaxagoras) *I am unable to frame any adequate notions* ^k, *from God’s works*.

This Mock-concession is again repeated, and as carefully guarded. “By natural Theology (says his “Lordship) we are taught to acknowledge and adore “the infinite *wisdom* and *power* of God, which he “has manifested to us in some degree or other in “every part, even the most minute, of his Creation. “By that too, we are taught to ascribe GOODNESS and “JUSTICE to him, wherever he intended we should so “ascribe them, that is, wherever either his works, or “the dispensations of his providence do as NECESSA- “RILY communicate these notions to our minds, as “those of wisdom and power are communicated to “us, in the whole extent of both ^l.”

What his Lordship would have you infer from this is, that we are NO WHERE taught to ascribe *goodness* and *justice* to God; since the *dispensations* of his *providence* do NO WHERE, in his Lordship’s opinion, NECESSARILY communicate these notions. But allow him his premises, that neither God’s Works nor Dispensations do NECESSARILY communicate to us the

ⁱ Vol. v. p. 335.

^k Vol. iv. p. 116, 17.

^l Vol. v. p. 527.

notions of God's goodness and justice; Would his conclusion follow, that therefore we are no where taught in these works and dispensations to ascribe those attributes unto him? Suppose these works and dispensations did only PROBABLY communicate these notions to our minds; will not this probability teach us to ascribe goodness and justice to him? God hath so framed the constitution of things, that man, throughout his whole conduct in life, should be necessarily induced to form his judgment on appearances and probable arguments. Why then not in this, as well as the rest? or rather, why not in this, above the rest? if so be God indeed had not (as I have shewn he hath) necessarily communicated these notions.—But still, what is this to our *adequate* idea of the moral attributes, the point in question? God's not *necessarily communicating*, affects only the *reality*, not the *precision* of the idea. All therefore we learn by the observation, which would thus put the change upon us, is, that his Lordship has a very strong inclination, that God should have neither *goodness* nor *justice*; so far as they carry with them any DISPOSITION to *reward* or *punish*. For as to the Attributes *themselves*, divested of their consequences; and undisturbed by our IMPIOUS IMITATION^m, he has little or no quarrel with them. His Lordship certainly never intended to *teach* the common Reader more of the secrets of his Philosophy than what NECESSARILY arises from his *professions*. But to make God treat Mankind in this manner, to communicate to their minds the appearance of Attributes which he has not, is drawing an image of the Deity from his Lordship's own likeness; the very fault he so much censures in Divines. But if it must needs be, that God is to be represented either after Them,

^m OUR OBLIGATION TO IMITATE GOD IS A FALSE AND PROFANE DOCTRINE. Vol. v. p. 65.

or after his Lordship, I should chuse to have the Clergy's God, tho' made out of no better stuff than ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGY, (because this gives him both *goodness* and *justice*) rather than his Lordship's God, which has neither; altho' composed of the more refined materials of the FIRST PHILOSOPHY. In the mean time, I will not deny but He may be right in what he says, That men conceive of the Deity, *more humano*; and that his Lordship's God and the Clergy's God, are equally faithful copies of themselves.

In a word, if God *teaches*, whether clearly or obscurely, he certainly intended, we should *learn*. And what we get even by appearances, is real knowledge, upon his Lordship's own principles. For if TRUTH be, as he assures us it is, of so precarious a nature as to take it's Being from our own System, it must be *real* as far as it *appears*. "Our knowledge" (says this great Philosopher) is so dependent on "our own system, that a great part of it would not" "be *knowledge* perhaps, but *error* in any otherⁿ."

It is thus he involves himself in perpetual contradictions: And it will be always thus, when men dispute (for believe they cannot^o) against common notions, and the most obvious truths; such as *liberty of will*; the *certainly of knowledge*; and this, which (I reckon) obtrudes itself upon us as forcibly as either, the MORAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY.

But the game is now on foot, let us follow it close. We have unravelled him through all his windings; and we may soon expect to see him take shelter in the thick cover of God's incomprehensible Nature; and rather than allow (more than in jest)

ⁿ Vol. iii. p. 356.

^o Hear what he himself says of FREE-WILL. *The free-will of man no one can deny he has, without LYING, or renouncing his intuitive knowledge.* Vol. v. p. 406.

the *moral attributes* of the Deity, ready to resolve all his Attributes, both *natural* and *moral*, into one INDEFINITE PERFECTION.

But soft. Not yet. We must come to it by degrees and regular advances. First, the *moral attributes* are to be *resolved* into the *natural*.

——“ if they [the *natural* and *moral* attributes] “ may be considered separately, as we are apt to “ consider them; and if the LATTER and every “ thing we ascribe to these, are not to be RESOLVED “ *rather into the former*; into his infinite intelligence, “ wisdom, and power^p.”——It is yet, we see, but a question; and that only, whether the *moral* attributes are not to be resolved into the *natural*. In the next passage the matter is determined. “ I “ think (and what he thinks, he holds it but reasonable we should all think) that the *moral* attributes of the supreme Being are *absorbed in his* “ *wisdom*; that we should consider them only as different modifications of this *physical* attribute^q.”

We are not yet near the top. However, before we go any higher, let us set together his INCONSISTENCIES, as they appear in this situation. Sometimes *the ideas of divine wisdom are better determined than those of divine goodness*^r: Sometimes *we have no ideas at all of divine goodness*^s: And sometimes again, (as in the place before us,) the *divine goodness is the same as wisdom*, and therefore, doubtless, (notwithstanding his Lordship) the idea of it as well defined. Now, of all these assertions, to which will he stick? To which, do you ask? To none of them, longer than they will stick to him: And straggling, undisciplined Principles, picked up at adventures, are not apt to stick long to any side: As soon as they begin to incline towards the enemy,

^p Vol. v. p. 523, 4.

^r Vol. v. p. 341, 526.

^q Vol. v. p. 335.

^s Vol. iv. p. 116, 17.

he has done with them.—Come, if you will needs have it, you shall. The secret is this. The attributes are mere NAMES; and there is an end of them. All that remains, worth speaking of, is one undefined ETERNAL REASON: and so the Farce concludes.

“The moral ATTRIBUTES (says he) are *barely* NAMES that we give to various manifestations of the infinite wisdom of one *simple uncompounded being*.”

“Of divine goodness and divine justice I am unable to frame any adequate notions; and instead of conceiving such distinct moral attributes in the supreme Being, *we ought, perhaps, to conceive nothing more than this*, that THERE ARE VARIOUS APPLICATIONS OF ONE ETERNAL REASON, WHICH IT BECOMES US LITTLE TO ANALYZE INTO ATTRIBUTES.”

To this miserable refuge is his Lordship reduced to avoid DIVINE JUSTICE. But why, the Reader will say, did he not speak out at first, and end his quarrel with the *moral attributes* at once? Your humble servant for that. Barefaced NATURALISM has no such charms as may make her received when and wherever she appears. There is need of much preparation, and not a little disguise, before you can get her admitted even to what is called *good company*.—But then, you will say, after he had resolved to speak out, Why did he stop again in his career; and, when his premisses are general against *all* attributes, his conclusion became particular, against the *moral* only? Not without reason, I assure you. He had need of the *natural* attributes, to set up against the *moral*: and therefore had himself analyzed this *eternal reason* into the specific attributes of *wisdom* and *power*. But when he saw his Adversaries might, by the same way, analyze it into *good-*

^t Vol. v. p. 453.

^u Vol. iv. p. 117.

ness and justice, he then thought fit to pick a quarrel with his own method: But it was to be done obliquely. And hence arises all this embarrass and tergiversation. He would willingly, if his Readers would be so satisfied, analyze the *eternal reason* into *wisdom* and *power*: but there he would stop: and leave the other side of the *eternal reason*, unanalyzed: and if *goodness* and *justice* should chance to start out, he has a trick to *resolve* and *absorb* them into wisdom and power, as only *different modifications of the physical attributes*. But if this should revolt his Readers, and they expect equal measure; then, rather than give them back the *goodness* and *justice* which he has been at all this pains to proscribe, he will throw *wisdom* and *power* after them, and *resolve* all into the ONE ETERNAL REASON.

Bashful NATURALISM has now thrown aside her Veil; and is, we see, ready to face down and defy her Rival; whom till now she was content to counterfeit. Give me leave, therefore, to repress this last effort of her insolence and of his Lordship's superior Wisdom. He now tells us, "that these pretended attributes, as they are commonly specified, and distinguished into *natural* and *moral*, are a mere human fiction; invented, by aid of analogy from the actions, passions, and qualities observable in man: and that the simple nature of Deity is one uniform perfection; of which, Infinity being the base, we can have no distinct idea or conception."

To this I reply, that it is indeed true, that these specific attributes, from which we deduce all our knowledge of the nature and will of God, are formed on analogy, and bear relation to ourselves. But then we say such attributes are not, on that account, the less real or essential. The light of the SUN is not in the orb itself, what we see it in the RAINBOW. There it is one candid, uniform, perfect blaze of glory: here we separate it's Perfection into

the various attributes of red, yellow, blue, purple and what else the subtle optician so nicely distinguishes. But still the *solar* light is not less real in the Rainbow, where it's rays become thus untwisted, and each differing thread distinctly seen in its effect, than while they remained united and incorporated with one another in the Sun. Just so it is with the divine Nature: it is one simple individual Perfection in the Godhead himself: but when refracted and divaricated, in passing through the medium of the human mind, it becomes power, justice, mercy; which are all separately and ADEQUATELY represented to the understanding. But that his Lordship so frequently discards his own principles, I should hope he would submit to this illustration, since he owns *that we see the Deity in a reflected, not in a direct light*".

It is a true light then and not a false: and the knowledge which it conveys is real, not fantastic: For mirrors are not wont to reflect the species of the mind's visions, but things exterior and substantial. To turn us, therefore, from God's *attributes*, (tho' the indirect, yet the well-defined, Image of him) because they discover something to us we may not like, a HELL and a FUTURE JUDGMENT, to turn us, I say, from these, to the *undefined eternal reason*, is doing like certain French Philosophers, who, when they quarrelled with Newton's Theory of light and colours, contrived to break the Prism by which it was demonstrated.

And now, Reader, let me ask, Who is there that deserves the name of MAN, and will not own, that they are the MORAL ATTRIBUTES of the Deity which make him AMIABLE; just as the *natural attributes* make him *revered*?—What is his Lordship's quarrel with the God of MOSES and PAUL, but that he is made *unamiable*, and represented without *goodness*

or justice? *Their God*, therefore, he expressly tells us, *shall not be his God*^x. Well then: He has his God to make. And who would not expect to find him, when made by such a Workman, a God of infinite goodness and justice. No such matter: These qualities come not out of his Lordship's hands; so, cannot enter into the composition of his God: They are *barely NAMES that men give to various manifestations of the infinite wisdom of one simple uncompounded Being*. The pretended want of them in the God of the Jews afforded his Lordship a commodious cavil; for he had RELIGION to remove out of his way: But when he came to erect NATURALISM in it's stead, it had been very inconvenient to give them to his own Idol.

Honest Plutarch, tho' a Priest, was as warm an enemy to PRIEST-CRAFT as his Lordship. He derives all the evils of Superstition from men's not acquiring the idea of a God *infinitely good and just*. And proposes this knowledge as the only cure for Superstition. This is consistent. But what would the ancient World have thought of their Philosopher, had his remedy, after hunting for it through a hundred volumes, been a God without any goodness and justice at all.

NATURE tells us, that the thing most desirable is the knowledge of a God whose goodness and justice gives to every man according to his works. His LORDSHIP tells us, that REASON or NATURAL RELIGION discovers to us no such God. Now, if both speak truth, How much are we indebted to REVELATION! Which, when *natural Religion* failed us, brings us to the knowledge of a God infinitely good and just; and gives us an adequate idea of those attributes! I say no more than his Lordship has con-

^x "Can any man presume to say, that the God of Moses or the God of Paul is the true God? &c." Vol. v. p. 567.

fessed.—*Christianity*, says he, *discovers the love of God to man; his infinite JUSTICE and GOODNESS*.

Is this a blessing to be rejected? His Lordship has no room to say so, since the discovery is made in that very way, in which, upon his own Principles, it only could be made. He pretends, “We have no other natural way of coming to the knowledge of God but from his *works*. By these, *he says*, we gain the idea of his *physical attributes*; and if there be any thing in his *works* which seems to contradict those attributes, ’tis only seeming: For as men advance in the knowledge of nature, the difficulties vanish. It is not so, he says, with regard to the *moral attributes*. There are so many *phænomena* which contradict these, and occasion difficulties never to be cleared up, that they hinder us from acquiring an *adequate* idea of the *moral attributes*.” Now admitting all this to be true, (for generally, his Lordship’s assertions are so extravagant, that they will not even admit a supposition of their truth, though it be only for argument’s sake,) What does it effect but this, the giving *additional credit to Revelation*? The *physical difficulties* clear up as we advance in our knowledge of *Nature*, and we advance in proportion to our diligence and application. But the *moral difficulties* never clear up, because they rise out of the *Whole System* of God’s moral dispensation; which is involved in clouds and darkness, impenetrable to mortal sight: and all the force of human wit alone will never be able to draw the veil. The assistance must come from another quarter. It must come, if it comes at all, from the Author of the Dispensation. Well; *Revelation* hath drawn this veil, and so, removed the darkness which obstructed our attaining an *adequate* idea of the *moral attributes*. Shall we yet stand out? And, when we are brought

hither upon his Lordship's own principles, still withhold our assent? Undoubtedly you must. Beware, (says he) of a pretended Revelation. Why so? "Because the Religion of nature is perfect and absolute: and therefore Revelation can teach nothing but what Religion hath already taught^z." Strange; Why, *Revelation* teaches those *moral* attributes! which you, my Lord, own, *natural Religion* does not teach—Here we stick.

"Dic aliquem fodes, dic, Quintiliane, colorem:

"Hæremus—

And here, we are like to stick. His Lordship leaves us in a Riddle. Will you have the solution? It is foolish enough; as the solution of such kind of things generally are. But if the Reader hath kept his good humour, which, I confess is difficult amidst all these provocations of impiety, it is enough to make him laugh. I said before, that his Lordship borrowed all his reasoning against Revelation, from such as Tindal, Toland, Collins, Chubb, and Morgan. This solemn argument particularly, of the PERFECTION OF NATURAL RELIGION, and the superseded use of Revelation, he delivers to us just as he found it in Tindal. Now Tindal, who pretended to hold that natural Religion taught both the *moral attributes* and a *future state*, had some pretence for saying that *it was perfect and absolute*. But what pretence has his Lordship to say it after him, who holds that natural Religion taught neither one nor the other? The truth is, he refused no arms against REVELATION; and the too eager pursuit of this his old enemy thro' thick and thin has led him into many of these scrapes.

To see his Lordship use TINDAL'S ARGUMENTS against Revelation, and for the perfection of Natural

^z Vol. v. p. 544.

Religion, along with his OWN PRINCIPLES of *no moral attributes* and *no future State*, must needs give the Reader a very uncommon idea of his abilities: for the first of these principles makes one entire absurdity of all he borrows from Tindal against Revelation; and the second takes away the very pretence for *perfection* in natural Religion.

His Lordship's friend, *Swift*, has somewhere or other observed, that no subject in all Literature but Religion could have advanced TOLAND and ASGILL into the class of reputable Authors. Another of his friends seems to think that no subject but Religion could have sunk his Lordship so far below it: IF EVER LORD BOLINGBROKE TRIFLES, (says *Pope*) IT WILL BE WHEN HE WRITES ON DIVINITY^a. But such is the fate of Authors, when they chuse to write upon subjects for which they were not qualified either by *nature* or *grace*. For it is with Authors as with Men: Who can guess *which Vessel was made for honour, and which for dishonour?* when sometimes, one and the same is made for both. Even this choice Piece of the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, his Lordship's sacred pages, is ready to be put to very different uses, according to the different tempers in which they have found his few Admirers on the one side, and the Public on the other; like the china Utensil in the DUNCIAD, which one Hero used for a p—pot, and another carried home for his Head-piece.

^a *Pope's Works*, Vol. ix, Letter xiv.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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